SATYA SWARUP MISRA

THE AVESTAN A HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

In the present work, Dr. Misra, presents a systematic, comprehensive and explicit picture of the history of the Avestan language, with suitable cognates from various Indo-European historical languages, like Old Persian, Sanskrit, & Greek etc. The development of the language from Indo-European through Indo-Iranian & Old Iranian to Avestan is presented in such a clear and systematic manner that the work is of great use to both scholars as well as beginners.

"In Phonology the work presents several tables for illustrating the complicated treatment of several Avestan sounds like *a*, *ā*, *s* etc., showing a perfect classification of the situation for the variant treatments. Treatment of sounds are also briefly presented in the reverse order (viz. Avestan—Indo-Iranian—Indo-European) to help beginners & researchers. In Morphology the declensions & conjugations have always been presented in the tables, which include cognotes & explanations, thus avoiding the foot-note system." (vide Preface).

"The impact and implication of the work of Dr. Misra will be far-flung, not only on account of its up-to-date up-grading, but for its being the first-ever Historico-Comparative Grammar of Avestan in the real sense of the nomenclature as well, peruse for instance the array of reconstructions, Indo-European, Indo-Iranian & Old Iranian, assembled together and furnished in an adequate supply, thus marshalling with a fuller comparative evidence." (vide Foreword).

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THE AVESTAN
A HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

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To

Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji

Father of Indian Linguistics

FOREWORD

It is an occaision of particular pleasure and gratification for me and a happy prerogative at that to commend this erudite work, The Avestan, A Historical & Comparative Grammar, from the ceaseless pen of Dr. Satya Swarup Misra, my one-time associate and colleague in the Department of Comparative Philology at the Calcutta University, a versatile linguistician, addressed to the scholars and students of Indo-European philology in general and Indo-Iranian philology in particular everywhere.

Dr. Misra, the recipient of the coveted Aśutosh Mukherji Gold Medal from the University of Calcutta, which proved a crowning success to his budding scholarship, by now, needs no introduction to his confréres in the field of his choice through his tireless and prolific contributions, both wide-ranging and worth-while like Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit, Greek and Hittite, New Lights on Indo-European Comparative Grammar, The Laryngeal Theory, A Gritical Evalution etc. etc. In the present treatise, he, with his wonted lucidity, has given a vivid description by way of a thumb-nail sketch of meticulous execution in every detail, a comprehensive coverage of the history of the Avestan lore.

Avestan is quite a significant member of the *nidus* — Indo-European family of sppeeches, — its relevance and importance in the arena of Indo-European Comparative Grammar is undeniable and well-nigh at a par with those of Old Indo-Aryan and Hellenic. The nenowned pioneer scholars of the Avestan Language like Bartholomae, Jackson and Reichelt are of course, reigning supreme, shining with the glory of their shares of contributions in the finmament of Iranistics, while following in the footsteps of such worthy predecessors, Dr. Misra is at about seven decades remove from the latest of the by gone Avestan scholar-torch-bearer, appears to have stolen a march over him, thus filling up a long-felt lacuna in the wake of further and newly accumulated linguistic facts as have come to light, since evedential insights, to which our minds have always come returning, in the broader perspective of which, Avestan had, as it were, been languishing and lying somehow and somewhat neglected, so long.

The impact and implication of the work of Dr. Misra will be far-flung not only on account of its up-to-date upgrading, but for its being the first-ever historico-comparative Grammar of Avestan in the real sense of the nomenclature as well, peruse for instance, the rich array of reconstructions, Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Old Iranian assembled together and furnished in an adequate supply, thus marshalling with a fuller comparative evidence. Add to this the very desirable feature of a tidy arrangement and presentation, so very characteristic of the author in the frame work of the over all plan in which the study has been conceived and one cannot resist the temptation of quoting from what one of the greatest linguists of our time aptly said in his foreword to Dr. Misra's Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit, Greek & Hittite : "This book has been well-arranged and the typography and the general outlay form a very eloquent testimony of the well-ordered mind that is behind this book".

Varanasi
15th August, 1978

Pranabesh Sinha Roy
Former, Head of the Department
of Comparative Philology & Linguistics
Calcutta University, Calcutta

Oṃ

PREFACE

In the present volume, entitled, The Avestan, A Historical & Comparative Grammar, an attempt has been made to present a clear and fuller history of the Avestan language, on the basis of recent theories, recently discovered further comparative evidences and other recent advancements in the field of Indo-European Comparative Grammar. Competent critics will of course be able to estimate as to what extent I have been able to execute my target task.

Since the work is presented in a Text Book form, proper care has also been taken to see that it is equally useful to beginners as well. The arrangement has been made in such a manner that proper material is placed in the proper corner. In Phonology the work presents several tables which illustrate special complicated treatment of certain sounds (like *a*, *ā*, *s* etc), with a perfect classification of the situations for the variant treatments. Besides showing in details the history of development of Indo-European sounds in Avesta, special brief expositions are also presented in the reverse order, to make Avestan sound changes easily approachable not only to beginners, but also to matured scholars. In Morphology the declensions have been classified afresh and the declensional tables contain explanations, and comparative evidences, leaving nothing for foot-notes, which was somewhat problematic in printing, but this will be of great use to scholars while using the work. Similarly the other parts of morphology i.e. pronouns, numerals, verb etc. may prove to be more useful even from the point of view of the new arrangement of materials. The exhaustive index of Avestan forms will be of great use to scholars to trace out the required comparative evidence.

Although I donot prefer single letter abbrevations, I have used them occaisionally, such as in declensional tables, Word Index etc simply to accomodate the space. I must point out here that I have used g./gAv and y./yAv only when the specification of Gathic and Younger Avestan has been considered essential.

A table of transcription is presented in the book. I have preferred the more general and up-to-date modes of transcription. I cannot assign any other reason for preferring *h˙* to χ', θ to þ etc. The peculiar Old Persian sound developed from Indo-Iranian *tr* is transcribed severally as *θr* (Bartholomae), *s͜s* (Sen), *ś* (Brugmann). I have preferred *s'* from the point of view of history and approximate phonetic nature of the sound as well as printing conveniences. OP syllabic *r* has been transcribed *r̥* instead of *r/ar*. In the Word Index I have introduced an alphabetic order for Avestan which is slightly different from the traditional order. The new order has a phonological basis.

I pay homage to all my forerunners to whom I am indebted viz. Brugmann, Bartholomae, Jackson & Reichelt. I pay homage also to Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, who greatly encouraged me for contributing more and more to Indo-European Comparative Grammar when he saw my first work Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit, Greek and Hittite. I pay my respect to Prof. Sukumar Sen to whom I owe my first hand knowledge of Avestan. I express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Dwijendra Nath Basu, Khaira Professor and Head of the Department of Comparative Philogy and Dr. C. Dutt, Reader, Department of Comparative Philology for taking interest in my works. I express my gratitude to Prof. Pranabesh Sinhary, former Head of the Department of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University, for his very valuable Foreword for the present work. I also express my gratefulness to Prof. Anjan Kumar Banerji, Professor and Head of the Department of Journalism and Dean of the Faculty of Arts for his ever-inspiring encouragement in my scholarly efforts.

Vāraṇāsī
25th August 1978
Janmāṣṭamī

Satya Swarup Misra

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The Avestan
A Historical and Comparative Grammar

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. The Indo-European language family

Avestan is one of the most important languages of the Indo-European language family. From the point of view of linguistic history, Avestan is to be derived along with its closest sister Old Persian from Old Iranian and Old Iranian is to be derived along with its closest sister Old Indo-Aryan from Indo-Iranian and Indo-Iranian comes under the Satəm branch of the Indo-European language family.

The Indo-European language family embraces a considerably large area of the world and is broadly classified as Satəm and Centum on the basis of the treatment of Indo-European palatal series. The Satəm languages represent Indo-European palatals as sibilants and the Centum languages present them as velars. The Satəm group comprises Indo-Iranian, Balto-Slavic, Armenian and Albanian and the Centum group comprises Greek, Hittite, Italic, Celtic, Germanic and Tokharian.

Indo-Iranian : (vide 2)

Balto-Slavic : It comprises Baltic and Slavic or Slavonic. Baltic consists of Lithuanian (with Oldest records from 16th century AD), Lettic (from 16th century AD), Old Prussian (from 7th century AD). Slavonic includes Old Church Slavic (also called as Old Bulgarian with records from 9th century AD), Russian (consisting of Great Russian, White Russian and Little Russian), Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Czech (or Bohemian), Sorbian (or Wendish), Polish and Polabian.

Armenian : Oldest records are found since 5th Century AD, and the language has not changed much even today.

Albanian : It is the language of ancient Illyria with oldest records from 17th century.

Greek : Greek is the most important language of the Centum group with Oldest records found in Homeric epics of c. 8th century BC. Some recently discovered inscriptions termed as Mycenaean Greek are of 13th or 14th century BC. Greek shows clearly dialectal divergences since Homeric period. Some of the important Greek dialects are the following : Attic-Ionic, Arcadian-Cyprian, Aeolic (including Lesbian Thessalian, Boeotian). North-Western Greek (including Lacrian, Phocian, Elean) and Doric (including Laconian, Argolic, Corinthian, Cretan and Messenian etc.). Greek is characterised by their retention of IE ā̆, ē̆, ō̆, and by the devoicing of the Indo-European voiced aspirates.

Hittite : Although this has been recently added to IE language family, Hittite has secured a considerably important place in IE studies, because two new theories have been added to IE comparative grammar after its discovery. One such is the Indo-Hittite theory which claims Hittite to be a sister of IE and the other is the Laryngeal theory which propounds that the proto-speech had several laryngeal sounds lost in the historical languages and partly attested in Hittite.

Italic : It consists of *q*–Italic (viz Latin etc. with oldest inscription of 6th century BC) and *p*–Italic (including Oscan, Umbrian, Samnitic etc.). Vulgar Latin is the source of the Romance languages, which include French, Italian, Portuguese Spanish, Roumanian, Catalanian, Provencal, Rhaeto-Romanic.

Celtic : Celtic also comprises *q*–Celtic (viz. Old Irish etc. from 8th century AD) and *p*–Celtic (Gaulish and Britannic etc.) and shows some affinity to Italic, which suggests an Italo-Celtic unitary stage.

Germanic : It consists of East Germanic or Gothic (with oldest records from 4th century AD—the oldest records of Germanic), North Germanic (with Old Norse, Old Icelandic etc) and West Germanic (with Old English, Old Frisian, Old Saxon, Old Low Franconian and Old High German). This branch is distinquished by the consonantal shift illustrated by Grimm's Law.

Tokharian : It is a newly discovered IE language (with oldest records from 6th century AD) and has two dialects termed A and B.

2. Indo-Iranian

Indo-Iranian is not only an important branch of the Satəm group, but also of the Indo-European language family because of its archaic nature as well as of the voluminous linguistic data. Indo Iranian signifies a stage of the language when Indo-Aryan and Iranian were not independent dialects. The strong linguistic affinity of Indo-Aryan and Iranian is the basis of such assumption.

The close affinity in phonology, morphology. syntax and vocabulary etc. has contributed sufficient data for reconstruction of Indo-Iranian mythology. Use of *asura* (Av *ahura*, OP *a(h)ura* and Skt *asura-*) in the sense of 'demon' in late Vedic instead of 'god' as in Av and OP, and use of *daiva* (Av *daēva*, OP *daiva* and Skt *deva-*) for 'demon' in Av and OP instead of 'god' as in Skt and other IE languages shows that at one stage the Indo-Iranian-speaking people might have quarrelled with each other as a result of which two sub-groups came out : Iranian and Indo-Aryan.

The following are some of the **special features of Indo-Iranian.**

1. IE *a*, *e*, *o* > IIr *a* (Av, OP, Skt *a*) (10).
2. IE *ə* > IIr *i* (Av, OP, Skt *i*) (12).
3. IE *m̥*, *n̥* > IIr *a* (Av, OP, Skt *a*) (19).
4. IE *r̥*, *l̥* > IIr *r̥* (Av *ərə*/*ərh*, OP *r*(=*r̥*) and Skt *ṛ*) (18).
5. IIr best preserved the positional variation of IE secondary vowels. (52).
6. Quantitative gradation of ablaut was best preserved, but qualitative difference was lost. (51).
7. IE voiced aspirates were retained in IIr e.g. IE *bhrātēr* > IIr *bhrātā* (cp Skt *bhrātā*, Av *brāta*, OP *brātā*).
8. IE velars and labio-velars were palatalised in IIr, if followed by a palatal vowel. (57).

9. IE *r*, *l*>IIr *r* (Av, OP *r* but Skt *r*, *l*) (130).
10. IE *s*>IIr ṣ̌ preceded by *i*, *u* etc. (143).
11. IE *z*>IIr ẓ̌ similarly (i.e. like *s*>ṣ̌) (145).
12. IE *sk̂*(*h*)>IIr *šš*(*h*) (Av, OP *s* but Skt *cch*) (60a).
13. IE voiced aspirates + voiceless non-aspirates> voiced non-aspirates+voiced aspirates (Bartholomae's law) in IIr (56).
14. IE dual number is preserved in IIr.
15. All the eight IE cases are retained.
16. Heteroclisis is abundantly preserved.
17. Indo-Iranian developed the following new endings:
    - (a) sg : Inst –*nā* (with vowel stems), –*ī* (with –i stems).
    - (b) pl : N. double affixation of –*as* (with –*ā̆* stems); Ac –*s* (with some *ī*, *ū* stems), D –*bhyas* (< perhaps IE *bhyos*); G –*nāṃ*.
    - (c) dl : I-D-Ab *bhyā*(*m*) (<perhaps IE *bhyōm* or an innovation).
18. The feminine –*ā* stems have a stem-extension with *ā̆yā*.
19. The stem-extension of first and second personal pronouns in sg and pl with –*am* e.g. sg. IIr *ažh-am*, *t*(*u*)*v–am*; pl *vay–am* & *yuẓ̌–am* etc.
20. The demonstratives IIr *aiṣ̌a–*/*aita-* (Av *aēša-*/*aēta–* cp Skt *eṣa-*/*eta–*), *sya-*/*tya–* and *idam*/*ayam* are in use.
21. IE feminine declension of the numerals 'three' and 'four' were retained in IIr.
22. IE –*ti* is used instead of IE –*k̂m̥t* for formation of the numerals sixty, seventy, eighty & ninety.
23. IE *sm̥*– (IIr *sa*–) is regularly prefixed to *ĝheslo*– 'thousand'.
24. Augment retained.
25. IE tenses and moods are retained.
26. IE middle endings are preserved in IIr like Gk.
27. IE –*r* endings are preserved like Italo-Celtic, Tokharian & Hittite.
28. Some of the dual endings may be innovations.
29. IIr developed a special passive in –*ya*.

3. Old Indo-Aryan

Old Indo-Aryan, normally referred to as Sanskrit, is the nearest neighbour of Old Iranian, and next to OP this is the closest kin of Avestan. Sanskrit is the most important language of the IE language family, as it is invariably needed for a historical and comparative study of any IE language, chiefly because of its rich stock of archaic features. This is, more the so, essential for a proper understanding of Avestan.

OIA consists of two main stages of development : Vedic and Classical. The Vedic Skt consists of the language of RV (earliest portions of which may belong to 2000 BC if not earlier) besides the other Saṃhitās (Atharva Veda, Sāma Veda, Yajur Veda), Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads. These present a huge quantity of records for the study of the gradual development of the language. The Classical Skt starts with the epic literature which is rich with linguistic peculiarities and is quite voluminous and is increasing day by day.

Some of the **special features of OIA** as distinguished from IE, IIr and Old Iranian are enumerated below.

1. IE voiced aspirates which are retaines only in IIr of all the IE languages are consequently retained only in Skt out of the IIr languages, as in Old Iranian also they have been deaspirated.

2. IIr r̥̄ (<IE r̥̄ & l̥̄)> Skt *īr* & *ūr* and IIr r̥r̥ (<IE*r* r̥*r* & l̥*l*) >Skt *ir* & *ur* (where as in OIr both IIr r̥̄ & r̥*r* >*ar*).

3. IIr *r* (<IE *r* & *l*)> once again *r* & *l* in Skt. Thus Skt *r*<IE *r* & *l* and Skt *l*<IE *r* & *l* (whereas in Old Iranian there is no *l*).

4. IE *sk̂*(*h*) (>IIr *šš*(*h*))>Skt *cch* (in OIr *s*).

5. IIr *ž* & *žh* (<IE *ĝ* & *ĝh*)>*j* & *h* in Skt and thus the distinction of IIr *j* & *jh* (<IE g/g^w & gh/g^wh followed by a palatal vowel) and *ž* & *žh* was lost in Skt (OIr distinguished them by *j* & *z*).

6. Skt has developed a set of cerebral sounds *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṇ* out of IIr dentals *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *n* which were not in IIr nor in IE.

7. Skt has not retained any of the voiced sibilants of IE and IIr (where as OIr retains voiced sibilants).

8. Skt does not tolerate a final conjunct (whereas OIr often retains a final conjunct eg. Av *vāχš̌* : Skt *vāk* < IIr *vākṣ̌*.

9. IIr diphthongs *ai*, *au*, *āi*, *āu* > respectively *e*, *o*, *ai*, *au* in Skt (whereas OIr retained them intact cp. OP *ai*, *au*, *āi*, *āu*).

10. If two aspirates occurred in consecutive syllables one of them is deaspirated in Skt (probably not so in OIr; cp Av *χumba–* but Skt *kumbha–* < IIr *khumbha–*).

11. Skt has developed an anusvāra (*ṃ*) after vowels and before sibilants in some cases (e.g. *viṃśati*, *manāṃsi*, *vidvāṃsaḥ* etc.) which is not historical.

12. IE dual was best preserved in Skt, and it was fully established for expressing any object in two, which need not be a natural pair.

13. All the eight IE & IIr cases were retained in Skt (so also in Avestan).

14. Some new endings appear in Skt (besides the IIr new endings inherited in Skt).

(a) Sg : Inst *–inā̆* (with *–a* stems e.g. *aśvenā̆*); Dat *–āya* (with *–a* stems e.g. *aśvāya*, Loc *–ām* (with fem vowel stems e.g. *devyām*).

(b) Pl : Acc : *–n* (with Mc *–r* stems (e.g. *pitr̥̄n* & *–s* with fem *– r* stems (e.g. *mātr̥̄s*). *–ni* (an additional particle was used with neuter vowel stems e.g. *yugāni*).

(c) Dl : N – Acc *–au*/*–ā* (< IIr-*ā*(*u*)) was extended to consonantal stems (which is however doubtful in case of Avestan *ā̆* which may be from IIr *ā*(*u*) < IE *ō*(*u*) or IIr *a* < IE *e*).

15. IE accent is best preserved in Skt.

4. Old Iranian

Old Iranian comprises Avestan and Old Persian. Avestan was the language of Eastern Iran, recorded in the sacred book of the Parsis called Avesta, written in Avestan script, and Old

Persian was the language of Western or South-Western Iran attested in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenian emperors. These two languages present quite a many common features in contradistinction to Old Indo-Aryan. Thus a special Old Iranian stage is to be assumed in between Indo-Iranian and Avestan.

The following are some of the **special features of Old Iranian :—**

1. IIr *r̥̄* & *r̥r* merged in OIr, as both became *ar* (cp Av & Op *ar* **17 d**).

2. IIr dipthongs *ai*, *au*, *āi*, *āu* remained intact in OIr (where again they were preserved by OP only) whereas in OIA they become *e*, *o*, *ai*, *au*.

3. IIr voiceless aspirates became voiceless spirants in OIr (cp Av *aθā̆* <IIr *atha*) and IIr voiced aspirates were deaspirated in OIr (cp Av *brāta* & OP *brātā* <IIr *bhrātā*) whereas OIA retained them intact (cp Skt *bhrātā*, *atha*).

4. IIr *k*, *t*, *p* > OIr *x*, *θ*, *f*, in most conjuncts (IIr *šukra-* > Av *suxra-*, OP *θuxra-* cp Skt *śukra-*; IIr *pra* > Av *frā̆*, OP *frā* cp Skt *pra* etc) whereas OIA retained them intact always.

5. IIr *cy*> OIr *šy* (**69**) whereas OIA retained *cy*.

6. IIr *r* (< IE *r* & *l*) remained *r* in OIr whereas OIA developed *l* out of IIr *r* once again.

7. IIr *ṣ̌* (< IE *s* after *i*/*u*/*r̥* etc.) > OIr *š* (Av & OP *š*) (**143**), similarly IIr *ẓ̌* (<IE *z* after *i*/*u*/*r̥* etc) >OIr *ž* (Av & OP *ž*) (**145**).

8. IIr *tst(h)*>OIr *st* (Av & OP *st*) (**84**) and IIr *dzd(h)*> OIr *zd* (**94b**).

9. IIr *t(h)s*>OIr *ss* (Av *s*) (**83**).

10. IIr *d(h)z*>OIr *zz* (Av *z*) (**97**).

11. IIr voiced sibilants were retained in OIr as voiced sibilants :

IIr *ž* (<IE *ĝ*), *žh* (<IE *ĝh*), *z* (IE *z*)>OIr *z*
IIr *ẓ̌* (<IE *z* after *i*/*u*/*r̥* etc and <IE *ĝ* before *d*/*dh*)>
OIr *ž*

It may be noted that no voiced sibilant was retained in OIA ; Thus :

IIr *ž*, *žh* > Skt *j*, *h*
IIr *z*, *ẓ̌* > lost in Skt

12. IIr *sš(h)* (< IE *sk̂(h)*) > OIr *s* but OIA cch

IE *(e)pr̥(k̂)sk̂et* > IIr *(a)pr̥sšat* > OIr *(a)pr̥sat*
> Av *pərəsat̰* cp OP *apr̥sam* cp Skt *apr̥cchat* cp Lat *poscet*

13. IIr *s* > OIr *h*

IIr *satya–* > OIr *haθya–* > Av *ha^{i}θya–* ,
OP *hašiya–*, cp Skt *satya–*

14. IIr *šṣ̌* (< IE *k̂s*) & *kṣ̌* (IE *qs/qʷs*) remained distinct in OIr, whereas they merged and became *kṣ* in Skt (vide **68a**)

15. IE (and consequently IIr) Voiced aspirates + *s* > (Optionally or dialectally) Voiced aspirates + *z* > OIr voiced non-aspirate + *z* (**56**). This dialectal development is not paralleled in Skt or in any other IE language.

16. *ai*–extension of *a*–stems was further carried on to I-D-Ab dual in OIr.

e.g. OIr *asvaibyā*, Av *aspaē^{i}bya*, OP *dastaibiyā* etc. but Skt *aśvābhyām* < IIr *ašvābhyā(m)*. cp IIr Inst pl *aśvaibhiṣ̌* > Skt *aśvebhiḥ*, Av *aspaē^{i}biṣ̌*

17. IIr Acc pl in *–as* (< IE-*n̥s*) and Gen sg in *–as* (< IE *–es*/*–os*) has been retained in *–r̥* stems in OIr but replaced in OIA by other endings.

Cp Av Acc pl *f'δrō* : Skt *pitr̥̄n*
Av Gen sg *dāθrō* : Skt *dātuḥ*

18. Post-position *ā* was very frequently used with loc pl in OIr.

Av *gaēθāhva*, OP *dahyušuvā* : Skt *dasyuṣu*.

19. Absence of *–m* in several endings (such as I-D-Ab dual, loc sg fem etc) in contradistinction to Skt.

20. OIr shows extensive use of the demonstrative pronoun *ava–* (cp Av & OP *ava –*) which is extremely rare in Skt.

21. OIr uses inst sg ending *–nā* with pronominal stems in *-a* : e.g. gAv *anā*, yAv *ana*, *kana*, OP *tyanā*, *avanā* etc.; cp OIA *–inā̆* as in Skt *kenā̆*, *tenā̆* etc.

22. IIr *yuẓ̌am* 'you' has been retained intact in OIr : cp Av *yužəm*, but Skt *yūyam*.

23. Numeral *aiva–* is peculiar to OIr eg. Av *aĕva-*, OP *aiva-*; cp Skt *eka-*, Lat *ūnus* etc.

24. IIr preposition *ana* is retained in OIr : cp Av *ana*, OP *ana*. This is lost in OIA.

25. The second personal and third personal dual endings of the verb have overlapped in OIr.

26. IIr active first person plural ending *–masi* (>OIr- *mahi*) & dual ending *–vasi* (>OIr *–vahi*) were generalized at the cost of *-mas* & *-vaṣ* respectively (cp Skt pl *–masi*/*–mas*, dl *–vas*).

27. OIr shows a peculiar middle subjunctive fir t person singular ending *–nai* (cp Av *yazāne* etc.)

28. Present participle middle *–mna* in weak grade was peculiar to OIr : cp Av *baramna-* & OP *χšayamna-*. Greek shows strong grade *-meno* and Skt shows long grade *–māna*.

5. Old Persion

Old Persion the nearest sister of Avestan shows the following distinctive features.

1) OIr *ai*, *au*, *āi*, *āu* were retained intact in OP, whereas they were subject to certain phonetic changes in Avestan.

2) OP shows no epenthesis which is so frequent in Avestan.

3) All final consonants are lost in OP except *–m*, *–r*, –š.

4) OIr *s*, *z* (<IIr š, ž, *žh*)> OP *θ*, δ.

5) OIr *θr* (<IIr *tr*) > OP s^r; e.g. *pus*^{r}*a*, cp Av *puθra–*, Skt *putra–*.

6) OIr *θy* (<IIr *ty*)> OP *šiy* e.g. *hašiya–*, cp Av *haiθya–* Skt *satya–*.

7) OIr *sv* (< IIr *šv*) > OP *s* (but Av *sp*, Skt *śv*) cp OP *visa*-, cp Av *vispa*–, Skt *viśva*–.

8) Dual was highly restricted in use.

9) Dative was fully lost in OP, like MIA.

10) Post-position *–ā* was extended often to loc sg also; e.g. *dastay–ā*, *dahyuv–ā* etc.

11) Instrumental plural *–āiš* of *–a* stems fully replaced by *–biš* (< IIr *bhiṣ*).

12) Nominative plural is often used for accusative plural e.g. OP *avaiy* (nom pl & acc pl).

13) OP uses demonstrative pronoun *iyam* as masculine instead of *ayam* (cp Skt *ayam*, Av *aēm*). Skt & Av use *iyam* as feminine.

14) IIr pronoun *sa–/ta–* is replaced in OP by IIr *sya–/tya–*.

15) Strong grade of √*as* is generalized for the weak grade forms in several cases. e.g. OP *ahmahiy* = Skt *smasi*, Av *mahi*.

16) Augment was compulsory with imperfect etc. like classical Sanskrit and unlike Avestan and vedic Sanskrit, where it was optional.

17) Modal distinctions are found chiefly with the present tense, like classical Sanskrit.

18) Perfect is traceable only in one form *caχriyā*, which is perfect optative.

6. Avestan

Avestan shows at least two clear chronological developments viz. Gathic Avestan and Younger Avestan. The following features distinguish Avestan from Old Persian, Old Iranian, Sanskrit, Indo-Iranian, as well as other IE languages. The distinction of Gathic and Younger Avestan is presented below in **6A.**

1) Avestan developed several vowels (*a*, *ə*, *e*, *o*) out of OIr *a* (< IIr *a*) **(10a).**

2) Original length of vowels has been disturbed in Avestan to a considerable extent **(9a).**

3) OIr *ai* > *aė*, *ōi*, *e* (21) and OIr *au* > *ao*, *o*, *əu* (22) in Avestan.

4) Epenthesis is an important characteristic of Avestan (47)

5) Avestan retains IIr final conjuncts in several forms, which are simplified in Sanskrit; e.g. Av *vāxš*, cp Skt *vāk*.

6) Final *t* > Av *t̰* e.g. Av *tat* cp Skt *tat̰*.

7) IIr *pv* > Av *f* (e.g. Av *āfənt* < IIr *āpvant*) with loss of *v*.

8) IIr *ps* > Av *fš* e.g. Av *drafša*– < IIr *drapsa*- (134).

9) OIr *h* (< IIr *s*) > Av *ŋh* medially; e.g. Av *manaŋho* < IIr *manasas* cp Skt *manasaḥ*.

10) OIr *hr* (< IIr *sr*) > Av *ŋr* medially; e.g. Av *hazaŋra*– < IIr *sažhasra*- cp Skt *sahasra*–.

11) OIr *hv* (< IIr *sv*) > Av χᵛ very often (vide **135a, 141** for details).

12) Prothetic χ before *s* (which in turn became *š*) is a notable feature in several forms; e.g. χ*šma*– < IIr *sma* · (**143a**).

13) *rt* > *š* (written *ṣ̌′*) very often (**130a**); e.g. *aša* (=*aš′a*) < *arta*– cp OP *arta*– Skt *r̥ta*–.

14) OIr *ss*(< IIr *ts*/*ths*) > Av *s* (83) and OIr *zz*(< IIr *dz*/*dhz*) > Av *s* (97).

15) Ablative sg –*at* of - *a* stems was extended to other stems in Av (**182a**). This is paralleled in Italic.

16) Genitive dual ending –*å* (besides locative dual –*o*) is unique in Av.

17) Avestan often shows nil ending in neuter plural instead of IIr –*i* (< IE *ə*).

18) The second personal pronominal stem χ*šma*– (beside *yušma*) is unique in Av and is paralleled only in Hittite (cp Ht *sume*–/*sme*–).

19) Augment is extremely rare in Av.

20) In vocables Av shows a special classification as Ahura and Daeva words.

6A. Gathic Avestan and Younger Avestan

1) Gathic and Younger Avestan represent two different chronological stages of the language.

2) Normally all final Vowels are lengthened in gAv and on the contrary they are regularly shortened in yAv.

3) OIr *ă̄* is sometimes represented in gAv as *əə̆ā̆*.

4) In several forms gAv shows *ə/ə̄* for yAv *ō*. i.e. *parə* : *parō* etc.

5) gAv voiced stops *b, d, g* often become voiced spirants *w* δ γ respectively in gAv intervocally.

6) gAv *j* is often represented as *ž* in yAv intervocally; yAv *daža*^{i}*ti* < *dajati* cp Skt *dahati*<IIr *dhajhati*<IE *dheg*^{w}*heti*.

7) gAv *s* (<IIr *š*<IE *k̂*) is represented by *θ* in yAv in a few sporadic forms.

8) gAv *zm* > yAv *sm*

9) Initial gAv *db*>yAv *δb*/*t̰b*/*b*

10) IIr nom sg *pitā*>gAv *ptā*, *patā*, *tā* & yAv *pita*

11) IIr acc pl suffix *āns*>(often) gAv *əng* & yAv *ą* e.g. IIr *yāns*>gAv *yəng* yAv *yą* Skt *yān*.

12) First sg thematic ending *-ā* (<IIr *-ā*<IE *-ō*) has often been replaced by *-āmi* in yAv like Skt.

CHAPTER II

PHONOLOGY – VOWELS

INDO-EUROPEAN VOWELS IN AVESTAN

7. Indo-European Vowels

- Primary Vowels
  - Short *a*; *e*, *o*
  - Long *ā*, *ē*, *ō*
  - Reduced *ə*
- Secondary Vowels
  - Short *i*, *u*, *r̥*, *l̥*, *m̥*, *n̥*
  - Long *ī*, *ū*, *r̥̄*, *l̥̄*, *m̥̄*, *n̥̄*
  - Non-Syllabic *y*, *w*, *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*
  - Syllabic-cum-non-syllabic *iy*, *uw*, *r̥r*, *l̥l*, *m̥m*, *n̥n*
- Diphthongs
  - Short *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *au*; *eu*, *ou*
  - Long *āi*, *ēi*, *ōi*, *āu*, *ēu*, *ōu*

8. Indo-Iranian Vowels

- Primary Vowels
  - Short *a*
  - Long *ā*
- Secondary Vowels
  - Short *i*, *u*, *r̥*
  - Long *ī*, *ū*, *r̥̄*
  - Non-syllabic *y*, *v*, *r*
  - Syllabic-cum-non-syllabic *iy*, *uv*, *r̥r*
- Diphthongs
  - Short *ai*, *au*
  - Long *āi*, *āu*

IE *a*, *e*, *o* merged together in IIr and became *a*; Similarly IE *ā*, *ē*, *ō* > IIr *ā* and consequently the diphthongs IE *ai*, *ei*, *oi* >

IIr *ai*, IE *au, eu, ou*>IIr *au*, IE *āi, ēi, ōi*>IIr *āi* and IE *āu, ēu, ōu*>IIr *āu*. The original quality of IE primary vowels was retained in Greek and therefore IE *ā̆, ē̆, ō̆* and *ā̆i, ē̆i, ō̆i, ā̆u, ē̆u, ō̆u* were retained intact in Greek.

IE *ə*>*i* in IIr and *a* in all other IE languages.

IE *r̥ l̥*>*r̥* in IIr and likewise *r, l*>*r*.

IE *m̥ n̥*>*a* in IIr and fell together with IIr *a* <IE *a, e, o*.

8a. Old Iranian vowel system was same as IIr except that IIr *r̥r* and *r̥̄*>*ar* in Old Iranian.

9. Avestan vowels

Short : *a, ə, e, o, i, u*
Long : *ā, ą, å, ə̄, ē, ō, ī, ū*
Diphthongs : *aē, ōi, ao, ə̄u, āi, āu*

Avestan vowel system became quite complecated mainly because of the various new developments from Old Iranian *a* (>Av *ā, ə, e; o, i*) and *ā* (>Av *ā, e, o, å, ą*) (vide **10 & 11**). Length of vowels was also considerably confused in Avestan. (vide **9a & 9b**).

9a. All final short vowels have become long in gAv and on the contrary all final long vowels have become short in yAv (**25a-i**).

9b. Often Avestan shows *a* short vowel for an origin long vowel and a long vowel for an original short vowel without any apparent justification (vide **25a-iii**).

9c. Av *ą* is a nasalised *ā* and Av *å* is *ā*, tending towards an indistinct *o* or *ɔ*.

10. IE *a, e, o*>IIr *a*>OIr *a*>Av *a* (normally) cp OP *a*, Skt *a*, Gk *a, e, o*.

IE *aĝō*>IIr *ažā*> Av *azā*, Skt *ajāmi*, Gk *ágō*, Lat *ago*.

IE *apo*>IIr *apa*>Av *apa* (also *apā*), OP *apa*, Skt *apa*, Gk *apó*.

IE *k̂lewos*>IIr *śravas*> Av *sravah*– (cp Av *sravå*) Skt *śravas*, Gk *kléos*.

IE *esti*>IIr *asti*> Av *asti*, OP *astiy*, Skt *asti*, Gk *estí*, Lat *est*.

IE *ok̂tō (u)* > IIr *aštā(u)* > yAv *ašta*, Skt *aṣṭā/aṣṭau*, Gk *oktṓ*, Lat *octō*.

10a. IIr *a* (irrespective of its origin from IIr *a* < IE *a, e, o, m̥, n̥* or from OIr *ar* < *r̥r* < IE *r̥r, l̥l*) besides being retained as *a*, had the following special developments in Avestan, which distinguishes Av from other IIr tongues.

(i) *a*>*ə* often before *m, n,* & *v* (specially when *v* was followed by *ī̆*).

Av *kəm* < IIr *kam*, cp Skt *kam* < IE *qʷom*.

Av *təm* < IIr *tam*, cp Skt *tam* < IE *tom*, cp Gk *tón*.

Av *barəm* < IIr *(a)bharam*, cp Skt *abharam* OP *abaram* < IE *(e)bherom*, cp Gk *(é)pheron*.

Av *barən* < IIr *(a)bharan* cp Skt *abharan* < IE*(e)bheront* cp Gk *épheron*.

Av *barənti* < IIr *bharanti*, cp Skt *bharanti* < IE *bheronti*, cp Gk (Dor) *phéronti*.

Av *səvištō* < IIr *šaviṣthas*, cp Skt *śaviṣṭhaḥ* < IE *k̂ewisthos*.

Av *əvīdvå* < IIr *avidvās* cp Skt *avidvān* < IE *n̥-widwōs*

(i-α) In gAv sometimes *a*>*ə̄* before *hm*.

Av *ə̄hmā* < IIr *asmā̆*, cp Skt *asmān*, Gk (Lesb) *ámme*.

(i-β) Avestan often shows *ə̄* for *ə* without apparent justification (95 a-iii).

gAv & yAv *spə̄ništō* < IIr *švaniṣthas*

gAv *jə̄nayō* (cp yAv *janayō*) < IIr *janayas*

gAv *jə̄myāṯ* (yAv *jamyāṯ*) < IIr *jamyāt*, Skt *gamyāt*

(ii) *a*>*i* (*a*>*ə*>*i*) before *m, n, or v* (specially when *v* was followed by *ī̆*), when *a* was preceded by *y, c, j* (including yAv *ž* < gAv *j*).

Av *yim* < IIr *yam* cp Skt *yam* < IE *yom* cp Gk *hón*.

Av *yima-* < IIr *yama–* cp Skt *yama-*.

Av *vācim* < IIr *vācam*, cp Skt *vācam* < IE *wōqʷm̥m*.

Av *jimaṯ* < IIr *jamat*, cp Skt *jamad-(agniḥ)* < IE *gʷemn̥t*.

Av *drūjim* <OIr *drujam*<IIr *dhrujham*, Skt *druham* <IE *dhrughm̥m*.

yAv *družinti* <OIr *drujanti* <IIr *dhrujhanti* cp Skt *druhyanti*.

(iii) *a*>*e* after *y* when the immediate next syllable had *ī̌*, *e*, *y*, *ŋ́h* (<IIr *sy*), *c* or *j*.

Av *yeδi*/*ye*^{i}*δi* <IIr *yadi* cp Skt *yadi* <IE *yodi*

Av *yehe*/*yeŋ́he* <IIr *yasya* cp Skt *yasya* <IE *yosyo*

Av *iθyejah*-<IIr *tyajas*- cp Skt *tyaj* <IE *tyeg*^{w} cp Gk *sébomai*

Av *yesnya*–<IIr *yažniya*– cp Skt *yajñiya*–<IE *yaĝniyo*– cp Gk *hagnós* 'holy' <IE *yaĝnos*

(iv) *a*>*o* sometimes after labial sounds, when the immediate next syllable contained *u* or *o*. Rarely also *a*>*o*, when the following syllable had a conjunct preceded by *r*.

Av *vohu* (gAv *vohū*) <OIr *vahu*, cp OP (*dāraya-*)*va*(*h*)*uš* <IIr *vasu* cp Skt *vasu*.

Av *mošu* 'quick' <IIr *maššu* cp Skt *makṣu* <IE *meƙsu*

Av <*pouru* <pre-Av *poru* <OIr *paru* cp OP *paruv* <IIr *pr̥ru* cp Skt *puru* <IE *pl̥lu* cp Gk *polú*.

gAv *cōr't*<**cort*<IIr *cart* <IE *qert* cp Skt (vd) *kaḥ* <IE *qort*.

Table of special developments of OIranian *a* in Avestan as discussed in **10a**.

OIranian *a* >Avestan	if preceded by	and followed by	
		immediately	in next syllable
i) *ə*	(any sound except *y*, *c*, *j*, *ž*)	*m* or *n* or *v* *ī̌*	
(ii) *i*	*y*, *c*, *j*, *ž*	*m* or *n* or *v* *ī̌*	
(iii) *e*	*y*		*ī̌*, *e*, *y*, *ŋ́h*, *c* or *j*
(iv) *o*	labial sound (sometimes others)		*u*, *o*, (rarely also) a conjunct preceded by *r*

10b. OIr final *-a*>gAv *-ā* because all final vowels are lengthened in gAv.

gAv *ahurā*=yAv *ahura* <IIr *asura*, cp Skt *asura* (Vocative).

10c. OIr *a*>Av *ā* often without apparent justification (25 a–iii).

yAv *Xšmāvoya* beside gAv *Xšma^{i}byā* <IIr *smabhya*.
yAv *hāvaya-ca* cp Skt *savyena*.

11. IE *ā*, *ē*, *ō*> IIr *ā*> OIr *ā*> Av *ā*

IE *mātēr*> IIr *mātā*>OIr *mātā* >gAv *mātā* (cp gAv pl *mātarō*), yAv *māta*, cp OP *mātā*, Skt *mātā*, Gk (Dor) *mātēr*, (Att-Ion) *mētēr* Lat *mātēr* etc.

IE *mē*> IIr *mā*> OIr *mā*> Av *mā* Skt *mā*, Gk *mḗ*

IE *ōk̂u*>IIr *āšu*>OIr *āsu*>Av *āsu*, cp Skt *āśu*, Gk *ōkús*

11a. OIr *ā* (irrespective of its origin from IIr *ā*<IE *ā*, *ē*, *ō*, *m̥̄*, *n̥̄*) besides being retained as *ā*, sometimes had the following special developments in Avestan, which distinguishes Av from other IIr languages.

i) OIr *ā*>*e* (perhaps *ā*>*ē*>*e*) after *y* if the immediately following syllable had *ī̆*, *e*, or *y*

gAv *ayeni*<OIr *ayāni* cp Skt *ayāni*
gAv *ja^{i}δyemi* beside gAv *ja^{i}δyāmi*.

ii) OIr *ā*>*ō* when the following syllable had *u*.

Av *vīdōtuš*<OIr *vīdātuš*, cp abl *vīdātaot̰*
gAv *vātə̄yōtū*<OIr *vātāyatu*, cp Skt *vātayatu*, *vātāyate*, cp gAv *vātəyāmahī*=Skt *vātāyāmasi*.

iii) OIr *ā*>Av *å* before *ŋh* and sometimes also before a conjunct of a nasal+a voiceless stop.

Av *nåŋhā-*, cp OP *nāham*, Skt *nāsā*, Lat *nārēs* etc.
Av *vånti* cp Skt *vānti*.

iii-α) IIr final *ās*>Av *å* quite regularly (142).

iv) IIr/OIr *ām* & *ān*>Av *ą*(= *ą*) quite regularly.
Av *θwą(m)*, cp OP *θuvām*, Skt *tvām*

iv–*α*) Sometimes *ā* instead of *ą* before *m*.

Av *dāma* beside Av *dąma*.

Table of Special Developments of OIr *ā* in Avestan.

OIr *ā*>Av	if preceded by	and followed by	
		immediately	in next syllable
i) *e*	*y*	—	*ī̆*, *e*, *y*
ii) *ō*	—	—	*u*
iii) *ā̊*	—	*ŋh*(or nasal + avoiceless stop sometimes)	—
iv) *ą*	—	*m*, *n*	—

11b. Final *ā* regularly becomes *a* in yAv, as all final long vowels become short in yAv (9a).

yAv *pita*<IIr *pitā* cp Skt *pitā*.

11c. gAv shows *ə̄əā* for *ā* (<OIr *ā̆*) in several forms.

gAv *ə̄əāvā*<OIr *āvā* cp Skt *āvām*.

gAv *ə̄əānū*<OIr *anu* cp yAv *anu*, OP *anuv* and Skt *anu*.

gAv *ə̄əādū* 'impulse, enthusiasm' (Inst. sg.)<OIr *ādu* <IIr *ādhu* cp yAv *ādu*-(<Av √*du*/*dav*) 'press' Skt *dhunoti* 'shakes'.

11c–i. Similarly gAv sometimes shows *ə̄əā̊* for *ā̊*

gAv *ə̄əā̊ŋhā* <OIr *āhā*<IIr *āsā* cp Skt *āsā* Inst sg<stem *ās* 'mouth'.

11d. IIr *ā*>Av *ā* sometimes without apparent justification (**25a-iii**).

yAv *apanəm*<IIr *apānam* cp Skt *apānam*<*apa* + √*an*–

12. IE *ə*>IIr *i* >Av *i* cp OP *i*, Skt *i* but *a* in other non-IIr languages cp Gk *a*, Lat *a* etc.

IE *pətēr*>IIr *pita*>yAv *pita*, cp OP *pitā*, Skt *pitā*, Gk *patḗr*, Lat *pater*.

IE *məti*->IIr *miti*–>gAv *miti*– (an in *zasto–mitīm*), cp Skt *miti*–

IE *qrewəs*>IIr *kraviṣ̌*>yAv * *χravīš* (cp yAv *χrvīšyant–*),
Skt *kraviḥ*, Gk *kréas*.

12a. OIr *i* (<IE *ə*)<gAv *ī* (vide **13a.**) and Av *ī* (**13b, c, d.**) just like OIr *i* (<IE *i*), under the same conditions.

12b. OIr *i* (<IE *ə*)>Av *ī* in several forms which lack proper justification, like OIr *i* (<IE *i*) (**25a-iii**).

gAv *asīštəm*<IIr *a–šiṣ̌tam* cp Skt *aśiṣṭam* <IE *n̥–k̂əstom*,
beside IE *k̂āstu*>gAv *sāstū* Skt *śāstu*, cp OIrish
cáin<IE *k̂āsni–*

13. IE *i*>OIr *i*>Av *i*

IE *idhi*>IIr *idhi*>OIr *idī*>yAv *iδi*, gAv *idī*, cp OP *idiy*,
Skt *ihi*, Gk *íthi*.

IE *sthisthāmi*>IIr *sthiṣ̌thāmi*>Av *hištāmi*, cp OP *a(h)ištata*
Skt *tiṣṭhāmi*, Gk (Dor) *hístāmi*, Ht *titami* (<IE
thithāmi).

IE *q^{w}id*>IIr *cid*>Av *cit̰*, OP *ciy*, Skt *cit*, Gk *ti*, Lat
quid.

13a. OIr *i* (<IE *i* or *ə*)>gAv *ī* finally in dissyllabic and polysyllabic words.

gAv *idī*<OIr *idī*<IIr/IE *idhi* cp yAv *iδi*, OP *idiy*, Skt
ihi Gk *íthi*

gAv *bara^{i}tī*<OIr *barati*<IIr *bharati*<IE *bhereti*, cp yAv
bara^{i}ti, OP *baratiy*, Skt *bharati*, Gk *phérei*.

13b. OIr *i*>Av *ī* before *m* (cp *u*>*ū* **15b**).
Av *pa^{i}tīm*<OIr/IIr *patim*<IE *potim* cp Skt *patim*.

13c. OIr *i*>Av *ī* sometimes without apparent justification.

gAv *mīšti* (beside *mištī*) adverb 'confusedly' <IIr
miṣ̌ti<IE *mik̂ti* cp Lat *mistim*, *mixtim* (<IE *mik̂stim*)
'confusedly', cp Skt *miśraḥ* Lith *mìsras* 'mixed'
<IE *mik̂ros* < √*mik̂* 'mix' 'mix up', 'confuse'.

13d. In extremely rare forms IIr *i* is attested as Av *ə* (perhaps mostly before a nasal+consonant).

Av *hapta həndu* (<*–*u̯* acc.pl) cp Skt *sapta sindhūn*

14. IE *i*>IIr *i*>Av *i*

IE *wiro-*>II *vīra-*>Av *vīra-* (cp gAv *vīrə̄ng*, yAv *vīrəm*), Skt *vīra-*, Umb *veiro* beside Lat *vir* (>IE *wiros*).

IE *g^{w}īro-*>IIr *jīra-*>Av *jīra-* 'lively, quick' Skt *jīra-* 'quick' (beside IE *g^{w}īwo-*>Skt *jīva-*, OP *jīva*, Lat *vīvus.*)

14a. OIr *ī*>Av *i* finally.

IE *potī* (dual)>IIr *patī*>yAv *paiti* but cp Skt *patī.*

IE *bhr̥ĝhn̥tī* (fem sg)>IIr *bhr̥žhatī*>yAv *bərəza^{i}ti*, cp Skt *br̥hatī*

14b. OIr *ī*>Av *i* sometimes without apparent justification (25a-iii).

yAv *a^{i}witəm*<OIr *abitam*<IIr *abhītam*, cp Skt *abhītam* <*abhi*+*itam.*

15. IE *u*>IIr *u*>OIr *u*>Av *u*

IE *ute*>IIr *uta*>Av *uta*, OP *uta*, Skt *uta*, Gk *-ute* (in *ḗute*=Skt *vā uta*).

IE *putlo-*>IIr *putra-*>Av *pu$^{\theta}$ra-*, OP *pus^{r}a*, Skt *putra-* cp Pelignian *puklot* (Ital *kl*<IE *tl*).

IE *bheretu*>IIr *bharatu*>Av *baratu*, OP *baratuv*, Skt *bharatu* cp Ht *estu*<IE *estu.*

15a. OIr *u*>gAv *ū* finally; sometimes in yAv also OIr final *u*>*ū.*

yAv & gAv *astū*<OIr *astu*<IIr *astu*<IE *estu*, cp OP *astuv*, Skt *astu*, Ht *estu.*

15b. OIr *u*>Av *ū* before *m* (cp *i*>*ī* 13b.)

gAv & yAv *xratūm*<OIr *xratum*<IIr *kratum*, Skt *kratum.*

15c. OIr *u*>Av *ū* sometimes without apparent justification (25a-iii).

yAv *būnōi* (beside gAv *bunəm*<OIr *bunnam*<**budnam*< IIr *bhudhnam* cp Skt *budhnam.*

16. IE *ū*>IIr *ū*>OIr *ū*>Av *u*

IE *k̂ūro-*>IIr *šūra-*>gAv *sūra-* (also *sura-*, *θūra*,) OP *θūra-*, Skt *śūra*, cp Gk *á-kūro-s*.

IE *nū*>IIr *nū*>gAv *nū*, yAv *nū*, Skt *nū*, Gk *nû-n*, OCS *ny-ně* cp also OP *nūram* (= Av *nūrəm*).

16a. OIr *ū*>gAv *u* finally.

yAv *pasu* (=gAv **pasū* cp gAv *maⁱnyū*), Skt *paśū*<IIr *pašū*<IE *pek̂ū*.

16b. OIr *ū*>Av *u* often without apparent justification (25a-iii).

yAv *muθrəm* but gAv *mūθrəm*<IIr *mūtram* cp Skt *mūtram*.

yAv *anuχtayaē-ca*, cp Skt *anūkta-*<*anu*+*ukta-*.

17. IE *r̥*, *l̥*>IIr *r̥*>OIr *r̥*>Av *ər* Normally *ər*>*ər'* before consonants, cp OP *r̥* (written *ar* or *r*) Skt *r̥* etc.

IE *nr̥bhyos*>IIr *nr̥bhyas*>Av *nərəbyō*, Skt *nr̥bhyaḥ*, cp Gk *anᵈrási*.

IE *mr̥to-*>IIr *mr̥ta-*>Av *mərəta-*, Skt *mr̥ta-*.

IE *(e)pr̥(k̂)sk̂et*>IIr *(a)pr̥ššat*>OIr *(a)pr̥sat*>Av *parəsat̰* cp OP *apr̥sam* Skt *(a)pr̥cchat* cp Lat *poscet*.

IE *dhr̥sneumi*>IIr *dhr̥ṣ̌naumi*>OIr *dr̥šnaumi*> Av *dərəš-naomi*, cp OP *adr̥šnauš*, Skt *dhr̥ṣṇomi*, Gk *tharsús*, *thrasús*, Goth *ga-daúrsan*.

IE *pl̥thus*>IIr *pr̥thuṣ̌*>OIr *rθuš*, >Av *parəϑuš*, Skt *pr̥thuḥ*, cp Gk *platús* (< *pl̥tus*).

17a. OIr *ŕ̥*>Av **ə'r*>*əhr* (*hr* =a s antized *r* 130a) before *k* & *p*.

Av *vəhrkō*<OIr/IIr *vr̥kas*<IE *wl̥qʷos* cp Skt *vrkaḥ*, Goth *wulfs*, Gk *lúkos* etc.

Av *kəhrptō*<IIr *kr̥ptas*, cp Skt *kr̥ptaḥ*, *kl̥ptaḥ*.

17b. OIr *ŕ̥t*>proto Av **ərt*>Av *əš* (130a.)

Av *aməša-*<**amərta-*<OIr *amŕ̥ta-* cp Skt *amŕ̥ta-*(beside Av *mərətō* cp Skt *mr̥taḥ*).

17c. very rarely IIr/OIr *r̥*>Av *rə* (at least orthographically).

gAv *trəfyāt*<IIr *tr̥pyāt* cp Skt *tr̥pyāt.*

gAv *grəwnāⁱti*<IIr *ghr̥bhnāti*, cp Skt *gr̥bhṇāti.*

gAv *drəzrō*<IIr *dhr̥žhras*<IE *dhr̥ĝhros* cp Skt √*dr̥h* cp Lat *fortis*<IE *dhr̥k̂tis*<*dhr̥ĝh*+*tis.*

17d. IIr *rr* (<IE *r̥r*/*l̥l*)>*ar* in Av (and OP), and fell together with IIr *r̥̄*. But in Skt IIr *r̥r*>*ir*/*ur* and IIr *r̥̄*>*ir*/*ūr*. Av *ar*>sometimes *or* normally after labial sounds.

Av *gaⁱri*<OIr *gari–*, cp Skt *giri–*<IIr *gr̥ri–*<IE *gʷr̥ri–.*

Av *poᵘru–*<**poru-*, OP *paru–*<OIr *paru–*, cp Skt *puru–*<IIr *pr̥ru–*<IE *pl̥lu–*

Av *parō*, cp OP *para*<OIr *parah*<IIr *paras*, cp Skt *paraḥ*, Gk *páros*<IE *pr̥ros.*

yAv *tarō*, gAv *tarə̄*, OP *tara*<OIr *tarah*, cp Skt *tiraḥ*<IIr *tr̥ras*<IE *tr̥rn̥s.*

17e. IIr *r̥r* is rarely also represented by *r* in Av.

Av *ātrəm*=*ātr̥rəm*<IIr *ātr̥ram.*

18. IE *r̥̄* & *l̥̄*>IIr *r̥̄*>OIr *ar*>Av *ar*, OP also *ar* but Skt *īr*/*ūr*. In Av *ar*<IIr *r̥̄* normally become *arə* as it was always before consonants and *ar*<*r̥r* remained *ar* as it was always before vowels. Thus the contrast of *r̥̄* : *r̥r*, lost in OIr, was reestablished in Av, to some extent.

IE *r̥̄mo–*>IIr *r̥̄ma–*>OIr *arma–*>yAv *arəma–* (also *arma–*) Skt *īrma–*, Lat *armus*, Goth *arms*, Arm *armukn.*

IE *r̥̄to–*>IIr *r̥̄ta–*>OIr *arta–*>gAv *aša* OP *artā–cā* beside IE *r̥to–*>Skt *r̥ta–*, and IE *r̥̄ti–*>Lat *art*, *artis* & OHG *art.*

IE *dr̥̄gho–*>IIr *dr̥̄gho–*>OIr *darga–*>gAv *darəga–*, gAv *darəγa–*, OP *darga–*, Skt *dīrgha–*, Gk *dolikhós*, Ht *dalugas.*

18a. There are several cognates where an Avestan form comes from IIr *r̥* and the corresponding Sanskrit form from IIr r̥̄ and conversely also in several cognates an Avestan form comes from IIr r̥̄ and the corresponding Sanskrit form from IIr r̥. This may be due to generalization of different IIr forms in Skt & Av, which were originally positional variants of the same form. e.g.

Av *ərəϑwa–, ərəδva–, ərədva–*<IIr *r̥dh(u)va–* : Skt *ūrdhva–* <IIr *r̥̄dhva* cp Gk *orthós* Lat *arduus.*

Av *pərəna–*<IIr *pr̥na–*<IE *pl̥no–* : Skt *pūrṇa–*<IIr *pr̥̄na–*<IE *pl̥̄no–* cp Gk *polloí.*

Av *aša*<IIr *r̥̄ta–* : Skt *r̥ta–*<IIr *r̥ta–*

Av *starəta–*<IIr *str̥̄ta–*<IE *str̥̄to–* cp Gk *strōtós* : Skt *str̥ta–* (Av *stərəta–*)<IIr *str̥ta–*<IE *str̥to–.*

18b. It is also probable that in several cases Avestan *ar* represents IIr r̥ instead of IIr r̥̄. Almost uniformly Av shows *ar* (<IIr r̥) before *št*; gAv further presents *ar* (<IIr r̥) before *š* & *ž*. In such forms however IIr r̥ & r̥̄ cannot be ascertained.

gAv *paršta–*, cp Skt *pr̥ṣṭa–*<IIr *pr̥ṣ̌ta–*<IE *pr̥k̂to–*

gAv *daršta–* (beside *dərəšta–*) cp Skt *dr̥ṣṭa–*<IIr *dr̥ṣ̌ta–* <IE *dr̥k̂to–*

yAv *paršta–*<IIr *pr̥ṣ̌tha–*, cp Skt *pr̥ṣṭha–*
yAv *taršu–ca,* <IIr *tr̥ṣ̌u* cp Skt *tr̥ṣu–*
yAv *marždika–* (beside gAv *mərəždikā*)<IIr *mr̥ẓ̌dika–* cp Skt *mr̥ḍika–.*

19. IE m̥ & n̥>IIr *a*>OIr *a*>Av *a*, OP *a*, Skt *a*, Gk *a*, but Lat *em, en*, Goth *um, un* etc. This (Av) *a* had the same treatment with the *a*<IE *a, e, o* (19a.)

IE *gʷm̥dhi*>IIr *gadhi*>OIr *gadi*>gAv *gaⁱdī*, Skt *gahi* cp Gk *básis* IE<*gʷm̥tis.*

IE *dek̂m̥*>IIr *daša*>OIr *dasa*>Av *dasa*, Skt *daśa* Gk *déka*, Lat *decem*, Goth *taíhun.*

IE *n̥–mr̥to–*>IIr *amr̥ta–*>OIr *amr̥ta–*>Av *amәša–*, Skt *amr̥ta–*

IE *mn̥to–*>IIr/OIr *mata–*>Av *mata–*, Skt *mata–*, Gk *–mato–*, Lat *–mentus*, Goth *–munds.*

IE *g^{w}hn̥to-*>IIr *ghata-*>OIr *gata-*>Av *jata-*, Skt *hata-*, Gk *pható-*.

IE *newn̥*>IIr/OIr *nava*>Av *nava*, Skt *nava*, Gk *ennéa*, Lat *novem*, Goth *niun*.

19a. OIr *a*<IIr *a*<IE *m̥*, *n̥* shows various developments in Av just like OIr *a* <IIr *a*<IE *a*, *e*, *o* (vide **10a.**)

gAv *əvistī* (Inst sg fem)<OIr *avistī*<IIr *avit^{s}ti-*<IE *n̥-wit^{s}ti-*(<√*vid*) cp Skt <(vd) *avittī*.

gAv *əhmā*<OIr *ahma*<IIr *asma-*<IE *n̥sme* cp Skt *asmān* Gk (Lesb) *ámme*.

gAv *ye^{i}ti*<OIr/IIr *yati-*<IE *ym̥ti-* Skt *yati-*.

19b. IE *m̥m* & *n̥n*>IIr/OIr *am* & *an*>Av *am*/*əm* & *an*/*ən* Skt *am*, *an* OP *am*, *an*.

IE *sm̥mo-*>IIr *sama-*>OIr *hama-*>Av *hama-*, OP *hama*, Skt *sama-*, Gk *hamo-*, Goth *sums*.

IE *tn̥nu-*>IIr/OIr *tanu-*>Av *tanu-*, OP *tanu-*, Skt *tanu-*, Gk *tánu-*, Lat *tenuis*.

20. IE *m̥̄* & *n̥̄*>IIr *ā*>Av *ā*, Skt *ā*.

IE *ĝn̥̄tos*>IIr *žātas*>OIr *zātah*>Av *zātō*, cp Skt *jātaḥ* Lat (g)*nātus*.

IE *qn̥̄to-*>IIr *kāta-*>OIr *kāta-*>Av *kāta-* (<√*kan* 'desire') cp Skt *kāti* (<IE *qn̥̄ti-*) 'desire'.

IE *ym̥̄no-*>IIr *yāna-*>OIr *yāna-*>Av *yāna-* 'boon', cp Skt *yacchati* 'gives', Av *yasa^{i}ti* <IE *ym̥sk̂eti*.

IE *bhrm̥̄sk̂et*>IIr *bhrāsšat*>OIr *brāsat*>Av *brāsat̰* cp Skt *bhramati* <IE *bhremeti*.

21. IE *ai*, *ei*, *oi*>IIr *ai*>OIr *ai*>Av *aē*, *ōi*, and (finally) *ē*, OP *ai* Skt *e* Gk *ai*.

IE *aidh-*>IIr *aidh-*>OIr *aid-*>Av *aēδ-* (cp Av *aēsma-* <**aēδsma-*), Skt *edhas*, Gk *aîthos*.

IE *eiti*>IIr/OIr *aiti*>Av *aē^{i}ti*, OP *aitiy* Skt *eti* Gk *eîsi*.

IE *toi*>IIr *tai*>OIr *tai*>Av *tōi*, *taē-ca*, *tē*, Skt *te* Gk *toi*

IE *moi*>IIr *mai*>OIr *mai*>Av *mōi*, *mē*, OP *maiy*, Skt *me*, Gk *moi*.

21a. Av final *ē*>yAv *e* very often e.g.

yAv *mruye*, but gAv *mruyē* cp Skt *bruve* <IIr *mruvai*.

21b. Av **ē*>Av *e* (irrespective of its origin from IIr *ai* **12** or IIr *ā* **11a–i**) often, without apparent justification, e.g.

gAv *ayeni* <**ayēni* <OIr/IIr *ayāni* cp Skt *ayāni*.

22. IE *au*, *eu*, *ou*>IIr *au*>OIr *au*> Av *ao*, *āu*, (finally) *ō*, OP *au*, Skt *o*.

IE *g*^{w}*ous* (gen)>IIr *gauṣ̌*>OIr *gauš*> gAv *gāuš*, gAv *gaoš*, Skt *goḥ* cp Gk *boós*<IE *g*^{w}*owos*.

IE *auges*/*augos*> IIr *aujas*/*augas*>OIr *aujah*/*augah*>gAv *aogō*, yAv *aojō*, Skt *ojaḥ*, cp Lat *augeo*, Gk *aúksō*, OCS *áuksztas*.

IE *menyeu* (voc)>IIr *manyau*>OIr *manyau*>Av *ma*^{i}*nyō* Skt *manyo*.

IE *wĕyeu* (voc)>IIr *văyau*>OIr *văyau*>Av *vayō* Skt *vāyo*.

IE *k̂leuses*>IIr *šrauṣ̌as*>OIr *sraušah*>Av *sraošō*, cp Skt *śrotra*–, *śroṣantu*, Gk *kleusómetha*, OCS *sluchŭ*, Lith *kláusti*.

IE *weseus* (gen)>IIr *vasauṣ̌*>OIr *vahauš* >Av *vaŋhāuš*, Skt *vasoḥ*.

IE *leuqes*/*louqos*>IIr *raucas*/*raukas*>OIr *raucah*/*raukah*> Av *raocō*, OP *rauca*, Skt *rocaḥ*, *rokaḥ*, Lat *lūceo* (<IE *louqeyō*), cp also Gk *leukós* (<IE *leuqos*).

23. IE *āi*, *ēi*, *ōi*>IIr *āi*+OIr *āi*> Av *āi*, OP *āi*, Skt *ai*.

IE *saināi* (dat sg. *ā* stem)> IIr *saināi*>OIr *haināi*> Av *haēnayāi*, Skt *senāyai*, cp Gk *khṓrai*, Goth *gibái*.

IE *ēit*>IIr *āit*>OIr *ait*>Av *āiṯ*, OP *āis*, Skt *ait*, cp Gk *ēite* (2nd pl) <IE *ēite*.

IE *mertyōi*>IIr *martyōi*>Av *mašyāi*, cp Skt *matyāya* (*martyāi*+*a*) and Gk *lúkōi*.

24. IE *āu, ēu, ōu*>IIr *āu*>OIr *āu*>Av *āu* OP *āu* Skt *au.*

IE *nāus*>IIr *nāuṣ̌*>OIr *nāuš*>Av **nāuš* (cp Av *nāvayā* = Skt *nāvyā*, OP *nāviyā*) Skt *nauḥ*, Gk (Dor) *nāus.*

IE *wesēu* (loc sg)>IIr *vasāu*>OIr *vahāu*>Av *vaŋhāu*, Skt *vasau.*

IE *gʷōus* (nom sg)> IIr *gāuṣ̌*>OIr *gāuš*>Av *gāuš*, cp Skt *gauḥ*, Gk *boûs* (<**bōus*).

24a. Av *āu* has sometimes become *å* (It may be noted that Av *å* normally comes from IIr *ās*).

Av *xratå* (loc sg *–u* stem)<Av **xratāu* <IIr *kratāu* cp Skt *kratau.*

Av *ar'θnå* 'the two elbows' (nom dl)<IIr *aratnāu*<IE *–ōu* (cp Skt *aratni*–'elbow').

Av *pasvå* (gen dl **188**)<IIr *pašvāu*<IE *pek̂wōu.*

CHAPTER III

AVESTAN VOWELS

FROM THEIR INDO-IRANIAN AND INDO-EUROPEAN SOURCES.

25. Special remarks on Avestan Vowels.

History of Avestan vowels has become quite complicated chiefly because of the following two factors : (i) Disturbance of vowel quantity. (ii) Development of one vowel in Avestan out of several IIr vowels and conversely development of several Avestan vowels out of one IIr vowel.

(a) Disturbance of Vowel quality in Avestan.

(i) As a rule all final vowels have become long in Gathic Avestan and short in Younger Avestan. Therefore it is impossible to recognise the original quantity of the Avestan final vowel without comparative evidence.

Final long vowels in gAv for original short vowels :

gAv *ahurā* (voc sg) cp gAv *ahura*<IIr *asura* cp Skt *asura.*
gAv *astī*, cp gAv *asti*<IIr *asti* cp Skt *asti*, Gk *estí.*
gAv *astū* cp gAv *astu*<IIr *astu* cp Skt *astu*, Ht *estu.*

Final short vowels in yAv for original long vowels :

yAv *pāδa*<IIr *pādā(u)* cp Skt (vd) *pādā* (nom dl).
yAv *pa^{i}ti*<IIr *patī* cp Skt *patī* (nom dl).
yAv *pasu*<IIr *pašū* cp Skt *paśū* (nom dl).
yAv *mruye* cp gAv *mruyē*<IIr *mruyaī* cp Skt *bruye.*

(ii) *i* & *u* >*ī* & *ū* before *m* in Avestan.

Av *pa^{i}tīm*<IIr *patim* cp Skt *patim.*
Av *xratūm*<IIr *kratum* cp Skt *kratum.*

(iii) Avestan shows several forms where a short vowel is attested instead of an expected long vowel and a long vowel is attested instead of an expected short vowel, without any apparent justification. But normally gAv shows a preference for the long vowels and yAv shows a preference for the short vowels.

Long vowels for expected short vowels :

ā for *a* : yAv *hāv^{a}ya*<OIr *havyā*<IIr *savyā* (Inst sg) cp Skt (vd) *savyā* = *savyena*.

ə̄ for *ə* : gAv *jə̄myāt̰*<**jəmyāt̰* cp yAv *jamyāt̰*<IIr *jamyāt* cp Skt *gamyāt*.

ō for *o* : gAv *cōr^{ə}t*<**cor'ət*<**cart*<IIr *cart* cp Skt (vd) *kaḥ* <*kart*.

ī for *i* : gAv *asīštəm*<**asištəm* <IIr *aśīṣtam* cp Skt *aśiṣṭam*.

ū for *u* : gAv *būnōi*<**bunōi*<OIr *bunnai* <**bud*+*nai*<IIr *bhudhnai* cp Skt *budhne*; also cp yAv *bunəm* <IIr *bhudhnam* cp Skt *budhnam*.

Short vowels for expected Long vowels :

a for *ā* : yAv *apanəm*<**apānəm* <IIr *apānam* (<*apa*+*an*–*a*–*m*) cp Skt *apānam*.

ə for *ə̄* : yAv *pitarə* (acc dl)<**pitarə̄* <IIr *pitarā* cp Skt (vd) *pitarā*.

e for *ē* : gAv *ayeni*<**ayēni*<IIr *ayāni*.

i for *ī* : yAv *a^{i}witaēδa–ca* (Abl sg fem of *–ti* stem)<**a^{i}wītaə̄δa–ca* <IIr *abhītaiṣ̌* (<*abhi*+*iti*–) cp Skt *abhīteḥ*.

u for *ū* : gAv *muθrəm*<**mū^{θ}rəm*<IIr *mūtram* cp Skt *mūtram*.

Besides, the following may also be showing long vowels for short without apparent justification.

Avestan regularly shows *aē* for **ae* (<IIr *ai*) and *ə̄u* for *əu* (<IIr *au*).

Avestan often presents *ar* for *ər* <IIr *r̥*. Since IIr *r̥̄*>Av *ar*, these cases of *ar* for *ər* also may be taken as long vowels for short without apparent justification.

Avestan often shows *ą* for *ə* (<IIr *a*) before nasals. Since in the normal development *ą*<*ā* before nasals and *ə*<*a* before nasals, *ą* for *ə* may also be a case of lengthening of vowel without apparent justification.

(b) Development of one vowel out of many and many vowels out of one.

Often one Indo-Iranian or Old Iranian vowel is represented by several vowels in Avestan; e.g. IIr/OIr *a*>Av *a, ə, e, o, i*. On the otherhand often one Avestan vowel is traceable to several Indo-Iranian, Old Iranian or proto-Avestan vowels; e.g. gAv *ə̄* for *ā, ō*; Av *i*<*a, i* etc.

Therefore the reverse history of Avestan vowels from their Indo-Iranian and Indo-European sources will be very useful for an explicit historical exposition.

26. Av *a.*

<OIr/IIr *a*<IE *a, e, o, m̥, n̥.*

Av *apa*(<IE *apo* **10**), *asti* (<IE *esti* **10**), *dasa* (<IE *dek̂m̥* **19**), *nava* (<*newn̥* **19**).

Av *ar*<OIr *ar* <IIr *r̥r, r̥̄*<IE *r̥r, r̥̄, l̥l, l̥̄.*

Av *gaⁱri*–(<OIr *gari*–<IIr *gr̥ri*<IE *gʷr̥ri*–**17a.**)

gAv *darʼga*–, yAv *darʼγa*–(<OIr *darga*–<IIr *dr̥̄gho*– <IE *dl̥̄gho*–).

yAv *a* <OIr/IIr *ā* in final syllables (**11b.**)

yAv *pita* (cp Skt) *pitā*).

Av *a* for expected *ā* (**25a-iii**).

27. Av *ā.*

<OIr/IIr *ā*<IE *ā, ē, ō, m̥̄, n̥̄.*

gAv *mātā* yAv *māta* (<OIr/IIr *mātā*<IE *mātēr* **11**).

Av *āsu* (<IIr *āšu*<IE *ōk̂u* **11**), Av *zātō* (<IE *ĝn̥̄tos* **20**).

gAv *ā* <OIr *a* in final syllables (**10b.**)

gAv *ahurā* <OIr *ahura* <IIr *asura.*

Av *ā* for expected *a* (**25a-iii**).

28. Av *e.*

<IIr *a* after *y* sometimes (**10a-iii**).

gAv *yehyā*, gAv *yehe, yeŋ́he* (<OIr *yahya* <IIr *yasya*).

<Av **ē* <OIr/IIr *ā* (**11a-i**).

gAv *ayeni*<**ayēni* <OIr/IIr *ayāni.*

<Av *ya* sometimes (**121a.**)

yAv *yehe, yeŋ́he*<OIr *yahya* <IIr *yasya.*

29. Av *ē.*

<IIr *ai* in final syllables sometimes (**21**).

Av *mē* <IIr *mai.*

Av **ē* (attested as *e* **28**)<IIr *ā.*

30. Av *ə.*

<OIr *a* before *m, n, v* (**10a-i**).

Av *təm* <OIr/IIr *tam.*

Av *barən* <OIr *baran* <IIr *bharan.*

Av *səvištō* <OIr *savištah* <IIr *šaviṣṭhas.*

Av *ər* <OIr *r̥* (**17**).

Av *əhr* <OIr *ŕ̥(k/p)* (**17a**).

Av *əš* <OIr *ŕ̥(t)* (**17b**).

Av *ə* <**ə̄* <IIr *ā* (**25a-iii**).

Av *pitarə* <IIr *pitarā.*

Av *ə* <IIr *i* rarely (**13d**).

Av *həndu–* <OIr *hindu–.*

31. gAv *ə̄.*

gAv *ə̄* <proto- Av *ə* <OIr/IIr *a* before *m, n, v* (**25a-iii**).

gAv *jə̄myāt̰* <**jəmyāt̰*, cp yAv *jamyāt̰* <OIr/IIr *jamyāt̰* <IE *g^{w}emyēt.*

gAv *ə̄* <OIr *a* before *hm* (**10a-i**).

gAv *ə̄hmā* <OIr *ahmā* <IIr *asmā* cp Skt *asmān.*

gAv & yAv *ə̄* <proto–Av *ō* (<OIr *ah* <IIr *as*) sometimes.

gAv & yAv *kə̄* <proto–Av **kō* <OIr *kah* <IIr *kas* cp Skt *kaḥ.*

gAv *yə̄*, yAv *yō* <IIr *yas* cp Skt *yaḥ.*

32. Av *o* <OIr/IIr *a* after labial consonants sometimes (**10a-iv**).

Av *vohu* <OIr *vahu* <IIr *vasu* cp Skt *vasu.*

33. Av *ō* <IIr final *au* & final *as* (*az*).

Av *ma^{i}nyō* <IIr *manyau* (voc) cp Skt *manyo.*

Av *parō* <IIr *pr̥ras*, cp Skt *puraḥ* <IE *pr̥ros*, cp Gk *parós*.

Av *ō* <proto-Av *o* sometimes **(25a-iii)**.

gAv *cōr'ṯ* <**cor'ṯ* <OIr *cart*.

34. Av *i*.

<OIr/IIr *i* <IE *i* **(13)** & *ə* **(12)**.

Av *ciṯ* <IE *qʷid*.

yAv *pita* <IE *pətēr*.

<OIr *a* when *a* was after *y*, *c*, *j*, & yAv *ž* and before *m*, *n*, *v* **(10a-ii)**.

Av *yim* <OIr *yam*.
Av *yima–* <OIr *yama–*.
Av *jimaṯ* <OIr *jamat*.

yAv *i* <gAv *ī* in final syllables **(14a)**.

yAv *pa*^{i}*ti* (dl)<IIr *patī* cp Skt *patī*

Av *i* <IIr *ī* for expected *ī* **(25a-iii)**.

gAv *a*^{i}*witaēša- ca* <IIr *abhītaiš* cp Skt *abhīteḥ*.

35. Av *ī*.

<OIr/IIr *ī* <IE *ī* **(14)**.

Av *vīra–* <OIr/IIr *vīra–* <IE *wīro–*.

<OIr/IIr *i* (<IE *i*/*ə*) before *m* **(13b)**.

Av *pa*^{i}*tīm* <IIr *patim* cp Skt *patim*

gAv *ī*<IIr *i* in final positions **(13a)**.

gAv *idī* cp yAv *iδi* <OIr *idi* <IIr *idhi* cp Skt *ihi*

Av *ī* for expected *i* **(25a-iii)**.

gAv & yAv *cīṯ*=yAv (also) *ciṯ* <IIr *cid* <IE *qʷid* cp Skt *cit* Lat *quid* Gk *ti*.

gAv *a–sīštəm* <IE *–k̂əsto–* cp Skt *śiṣṭa–* etc. **(12a)**.

36. Av *u*.

<OIr/IIr *u* <IE *u* **(15)**.

Av *uta*, *puθra*, *baratu* **(15)**.

<IIr *a* sometimes by analogy.

Av *puxᵋδa–* 'fifth' <**paxδa–* <IIr *pak–tha–* <IE *pn̥qʷ–tho–* (<*peŋqʷ–tho–* cp *peŋqʷe* 'five') in analogy with *tuⁱrya–* 'fourth'.

yAv *u* <IIr *ū* in final syllables (**16a**).

yAv *pasu* (dl) <IIr *pašū* cp Skt *paśū*.

Av *u* for expected *ū* (**25a-iii**).

yAv *muθrəm* (beside gAv *mūᶿrəm*) <IIr *mūtram*, cp Skt *mūtram*.

37. Av *ū*.

< OIr/IIr/IE *ū* (**16**).

yAv *sūra–* <IIr *šūra–* <IE *k̑ūro–*.

<OIr/IIr *u* before *m*.

Av *xratūm* <IIr *kratum* cp Skt *kratum*.

gAv *ū* <IIr *u* in final syllables.

gAv *baratū* cp yAv *baratu* <IIr *bharatu* cp Skt *bharatu* <IE *bheretu*.

Av *ū* for expected *u*.

gAv *būnoi* for *bunai* (**25a-iii**).

38. Av *ą* (= *ą̄*)

<IIr *ā* before *m, n*.

gAv & yAv *tąm* <IIr *tām* <IE *tām* cp Skt *tām* Gk *tḗn*.

yAv *gavąm* <IIr *gavām* <IE *gʷowōm* cp Skt *gavām*, Gk *boôn*.

gAv *gąm* <IIr *gām* <IE *gʷōm* cp Skt *gām*, Gk *bôn*.

<IIr *ām/ān* sometimes.

yAv *yą* <IIr *yāns* (Acc pl mc) cp Skt *yān* <IE *yons* cp Gk (dlct) *hóns*.

gAv *yąs-cā* <IIr *yāns-ca* cp Skt *yāṃś-ca* <IE *yons qʷe* cp Gk(dlct) *hons-te*.

<IIr *am/an/aŋ* sometimes (**116**).

yAv *θrąmfᵊδa–* 'satisfied' <IIr *tramp-tha* or *trmptha* cp Skt *tṛmpati*, *tr̥pta–*.

yAv *mąθra-* <IIr *mantra-* cp Skt *mantra-*.

39. Av *å*

<IIr final *ās*

gAv & yAv *tå* <IIr *tās* (Fem nom-acc) cp Skt *tāḥ*.

<IIr *ā* before Av *ŋh* (**11a-iii**)

Av *aspåŋhō* <IIr *aśvāsas* cp Skt *āśvāsaḥ*.

Av *nåŋhā-* <IIr *nāsa-* cp Skt *nāsā-*.

<IIr *ā* before a conjunct of a nasal + a voiceless stop (**11a-iii**)

Av *vånti* <IIr *vānti* Skt *vānti*.

<IIr *āu* sometimes (**24a**)

Av *tå* <IIr *tāu* (nom-acc dl mc *a*-stem) <IE *tōu* cp Skt *tau*.

Av *χratå* <IIr *kratāu* (loc sg *-u*-stem) cp Skt *kratau*.

40. Av *aē* <IIr *ai* (21)

Av *aēiti* <IIr *aiti* cp Skt *eti* <IE *eiti*.

41. Av *ōi* <IIr *ai* (21)

gAv & yAv *mōi* <IIr *mai*, cp Skt *me* <IE *moi*.

41a. Av *ōy* <IIr *ay* sometimes analogously after *ōi*<*ai*.

gAv *ōyā*, yAv *aya* <IIr *ayā* (Inst sg).

42. Av *ao* <IIr *au* (22)

Av *aojō* <IIr *aujas* <IE *auges* cp Skt *ojaḥ*.

43. Av *əu* <IIr *au* (22)

gAv *vaŋhəuš* <IIr *vasauš* cp Skt *vasoḥ*.

44. Av *āi* <IIr *āi* (23)

Av *āit̰* <IIr *āit* cp Skt *ait*.

45. Av *āu* <IIr *āu* (24)

Av *gāuš* <IIr *gāuṣ* cp Skt *gauḥ* <IE *g^{w}ōus* cp Gk *boûs*.

CHAPTER IV

MISCELLANEOUS VOWEL CHANGES

46. Loss of Nasalization after Avestan Vowels.

In several cases a nasalization is lost in Avestan. Hence an Avestan Vowel in such cases represents an original Vowel + nasal; e.g. *ga^{i}rī̆š* <IIr *gr̥rins*; *po^{u}rūš* <IIr *prruns* etc. (for further details vide **117**).

47. Epenthesis

Epenthesis of *i* & *u* is a regular feature in Avestan. But the metre does not require the epenthetic Vowels.

Epenthesis of *i* appears in Avestan after *ā̆*, *ū̆*, *ē̆*, *o*, *ao* or *aē* and before simple consonants or *nt*, if *ī̆*, *ē*, *ŋ* or *ŋ́h* (<IIr *sy*) appeared in the immediate next syllable. e.g.

a^{i}ti <IIr *ati* cp Skt *ati*

a^{i}pi <IIr *api* cp Skt *api*

bara^{i}nti <IIr *bharanti* cp Skt *bharanti*

pərəsā^{i}ti <IIr *pr̥(š)sšāti* (subjunctive) cp Skt (vd) *pr̥cchāti*

stū^{i}δi <IIr *studhi* cp Skt *stuhi*

kərənao^{i}ti <IIr *kr̥nauti* cp Skt (vd) *kr̥ṇoti.*

aē^{i}ti <IIr *aiti,* cp Skt *eti*

bərəza^{i}tē <IIr *bhr̥žhatai* cp Skt *br̥hate*

ma^{i}nyu- <IIr *manyu-* cp Skt *manyu-*

a^{i}ŋ́hå <IIr *asyās* cp Skt *asyāḥ*

Epenthesis of *u* normally appears in Avestan after *ā̆* or *o* and before *r,* when *u* or *v* appeared in the immediate next Syllable.

a^{u}ruša- <IIr *aruṣa-,* cp Skt *aruṣa-*

dā^{u}ru- <IIr *dāru-,* cp Skt *dāru-*

po^{u}ru- <IIr *pr̥ru-,* cp Skt *puru-*

48. Prothesis or Prothetic Anaptyxis

In Avestan prothesis is also anticipatory in nature, since insertion of an inital vowel is determined by the vowel or semi-vowel of the following syllable. Thus in Avestan prothesis of *i* occurs before *rǐ* and prothesis of *u* occurs before *rŭ/rv*.

Av *irinaxti* < IIr *rinakti* cp Skt *riṇakti*.
Av *urūpaye^{i}nti* < IIr *rūpayanti* cp Skt *rūpayanti*
Av *urvata* < IIr *vrata* cp Skt *vrata–*

Rarely also before others : gAv *ivīzayaθā* < *vī-zayaθa* < IIr *vi-žayatha* cp Skt *vi-hīyatha*.

49. Anaptyxis

Anaptyxis is quite regular in conjuncts with *r*.

gAv *dar^{ə}ga–*, yAv *dar^{ə}γa–* < OIr *darga–* cp Op *darga–* < IIr *dr̥̄gho–* cp Skt *dīrgha–* < IE *dl̥̄gho–* cp Gk *dolikhós*.
yAv *dādar^{ə}sa* < OIr *dādarsa* < IIr *dādarša* cp Skt *dadarśa*, cp Gk *dédorka*.
yAv *s^{u}runao^{i}ti* < OIr *srunauti* < IIr *šrunauti* cp Skt *śr̥ṇoti*.

It is also found with other conjuncts :

Av *γ^{ə}na–* < IIr *ghna–* cp Skt *ghna–* < IE *g^{w}hno–*.
gAv *dad^{ə}mahi* < IIr *dadmasi* cp Skt (vd) *dadmasī*.
gAv *d^{a}bitya–* < **dbitiya–* < IIr *dvitīya–* cp Skt *dvitīya–*.

50. Apothesis

This is quite regular after final *–r*.

Av *antarə* < IIr *antar* cp Skt *antaḥ*
Av *vadarə* < IIr *vadhar* cp Skt *vadhaḥ*
Av *åŋharə* < IIr *āsr̥r* cp Skt *āsuḥ*
Av *narə* (Voc) < IIr *nar* cp Skt *naḥ*

51. Ablaut

Indo-European primary vowels had a regular pattern of vowel alternation, which is termed as ablaut. The alternation could be both in quantity and quality. Alternation of IE *a* : *ā* or *e* : *ē* or *o* : *ō* is quantitative ablaut and alternation of *e* : *o* or the like is qualitative ablaut.

The quantitative ablaut has three grades : *guṇa* or strong grade, with the vowel in the normal grade of the primary short or long vowel, *vr̥ddhi* or long grade with the short primary vowel lengthened and weak grade with vowel lost or reduced. The weak grade has two sub-grades : zero or nil grade with the vowel lost and reduced grade with the vowel reduced.

The qualitative ablaut was lost in Avestan, as in other IIr languages, because the IE primary vowels *ā̆*, *ē̆*, *ō̆* were represented in IIr only by *ā̆* (10).

Traces of the IE qualitative ablaut can be observed in the change of an IE velar or labio-velar into palatal (57).

The quantitative ablaut has also been considerably obscured in Avestan as the IIr vowel quantity has often been disturbed in Avestan (15).

Moreover Avestan often presents strong grade in a morpheme where Sanskrit and others show weak grade. For instances Av presents strong grade of the root before *-ta* suffix, with long *ā*, *ē*, *ō* series, where Sanskrit shows weak grade; e.g. Av *dātō* <IIr *dhātas* <IE *dhētos*, but cp Skt *hitaḥ* <IIr *dhitas* <IE *dhətos*. Besides, because of certain phonological developments in Avestan it is often difficult to find out the gradation without comparative evidence. For example IE *er* > Av *ar* IE *r̥̄*/*r̥r* (also sometimes *r̥*) Av *ar*. Therefore a strong grade *er* : weak grade *r̥̄*/*r̥r* (or *r̥*) cannot be distinguished in Avestan merely on internal phonological evidence.

IE had the following six ablaut series[1] :

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1. The traditional six series are maintained in the present work, merely for pedagogic reasons, although it would be

Series	Strong grade	Long grade	Weak Grade	
			reduced grade	zero grade
a	*a* : *o*	*ā* : *ō*	(*a*)	nil
e	*e* : *o*	*ē* : *ō*	(*e*)	nil
o	*o*	*ō*	(*o*)	nil
ā	*ā* : *ō*	——	ə	nil
ē	*ē* : *ō*	——	ə	nil
ō	*ō*	——	ə	nil

(1) IE *a* series

	strong grade	long grade	weak grade
IE	*a* : *o*	*ā* : *ō*	(*a*) : nil
IE	*aĝ* : *oĝ*	*āĝ* : *ōĝ*	(*aĝ*) : *ĝ*
Gk	*áĝ* : Gk *ógmon*		
		Lat *ambāgēs* : Gk *agōgḗ*	Skt *jman*
Av	*azāmi*		
Skt	*ajāmi*		
IE	*yaĝ* : *yoĝ*	*yāĝ* : *yōĝ*	(*yaĝ*) : *iĝ*
Gk	*hagnós*		
Av	*yasnō*		Av *ištō*
Skt	*yajñaḥ*	Skt *īyāja*	Skt *iṣṭaḥ*
IE	*bhag* : *bhog*	*bhāg* : *bhōg*	*bhag* : *bhg*
Gk	*phágos*		
yAv	*baɣa–*	gAv *bāga–*	
OP	*baga*		
Skt	*bhaga–*	Skt *bhāga–*	Skt *bhejuḥ*
			<IIr *bhabhgr̥r*

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more scientific to consider only three ablaut series, viz. the *a*, *e*, *o* series (Vide NLIECG p. 10).

(2) IE *e* Series

IE *e* : *o*	*ē* : *ō*	(*e*) : nil
IE *ped* : *pod*	*pēd* : *pōd*	(*ped*) : *pd*>*bd*
Lat *pedem*	Lat *pēs* Gk *pṓs*	Gk *epi-bd-ai*
Gk *poda*	<IE *pēd-s* <IE *pōd-s*	
Av *paε'byas-ca*	Av *pāδa* (Ṅ-dl)	Av *fra-bda-*
Skt *padbhyaḥ*	Skt *pādā* (vd)	Skt *upa-bda-*
IE *pet* : *pot*	*pēt* : *pōt*	(*pet*) : *pt*
Gk *pétomai* : *potéomai*	: *pōtaómai*	*eptómen*
Av *patati*		*ptat̰*
Skt *patati*	*pātayati*	*apaptat*
OP *apatata*		

(3) IE *o* series

IE *o*	*ō*	(*o*) : nil
IE *gʷou-*	IE *gʷōu-*	IE *gʷu-/gʷw-*
Gk *boós*	Gk *boûs*<**bōus*	Gk *hekatóm-bē*
Av *gaoš*	Av *gāuš*	
Skt *goḥ*	Skt *gauḥ*	Skt *dvi-guḥ*

(4) IE *ā* series

IE *ā* : *ō*	——	*ə* : nil
IE *sthā*		*sthə* : *sth*
Gk *hístāmi*	Gk *statós*	
Av *stāna-*	Av *hištənti*	
Skt *sthāna-*	Skt *sthitaḥ*	: *tiṣṭhanti*

(5) IE *ē* series

IE *ē* : *ō*	——	*ə* : nil
IE *dhē* : *dhō*		*dhə* : nil
Ck *títhēmi* : *thōmós*		
Av *daδāⁱti*		Av *daste*
Skt *dadhāti*		*hita-* : *dhatte*

(6) IE *ō* series

IE *ō*	——	*ə* : nil
IE *dō*		*də* : *d*
Gk *dídōmi*		*dános*
Av *daδāⁱti*		*daste*
Skt *dadāti*		*a-dita-* : *datte.*

Ablaut has an important morphological role in Avestan, as in Sanskrit and other IE languages. For instance :

Forms with secondary affixes differ in ablaut from the corresponding primary forms e.g.

Av *āhū*^{i}*riš* (cp Skt *āsuriḥ*) adj :
Av *ahurō* (cp Skt *asuraḥ*) noun,

Av *vār*$^{ə\theta}$*ra*$^{\gamma}$*nəm* (cp Skt *vārtraghnam*):
Av *vər*$^{ə\theta}$*ra*$^{\gamma}$*nəm* (cp Skt *vr̥traghnam*),

Av *dəušmanahyāi-ca* (cp Skt *daurmanasyāi-ca*):
Av *dušmanah-* (cp Skt *durmanas-*).

Often Nom and Gen are distinguished by Ablaut :

Av nom *gāuš* (cp Skt *gauḥ*, Gk *boûs*):
Av gen *gaoš* (cp Skt *goḥ*, Gk *boós*);

Av nom *ga*^{i}*ris* (cp Skt *giriḥ*, Gk *oîs*) :
Av gen *garōiš* (cp Skt *gireḥ*).

Neuter sg and Masculine sg are also distinguished by ablaut.

Av nt sg *manō* (cp Skt *manaḥ*, Gk *ménos*) :
Av mc sg *dušmanå* (cp Skt *durmanāḥ*, Gk *dusmenḗs*).

Av nt sg *mazat̰* (cp Skt *mahat* <IE *meĝhn̥t*) :
Av mc sg *maza* (<**mazā* cp Skt *mahā*
<IE *meĝhōnts*).

52. Positional Variation of Secondary Vowels

IE secondary vowels *i, u, ṛ, ḷ, ṃ, ṇ* had a positional variation in the proto IE stage. The positional variation was conditioned by the preceding syllable (heavy or light syllable) and the following sound (vowel or consonant).

If the preceding syllable was light and the following sound was a consonant *i, u, r̥, l̥, m̥, n̥* remained as short vowels : *i, u, r̥, l̥, m̥, n̥*.

If the preceding syllable was light and the following sound was a vowel they became consonantal : *y, w, r, l, m, n*.

If the preceding syllable was heavy and the following sound was a consonant, they became long vowels : *ī, ū, r̥̄, l̥̄, m̥̄, n̥̄*.

If the preceding syllable was heavy and the following sound was a vowel, they became syllabic-cum-consonantal : *iy, uw, r̥r, l̥l, m̥m, n̥n.*

IE postional variation may be graphically represented as follows :

If the preceding syllable was	and the following syllable was	IE *i, u, r̥, l̥, m̥, n̥* became
Light	a consonant	*i, u, r̥, l̥, m̥, n̥*
Light	a vowel	*y, w, r, l, m, n*
Heavy	a consonant	*ī, ū, r̥̄, l̥̄, m̥̄, n̥̄*
Heavy	a vowel	*iy, uw. r̥r, l̥l, m̥m, nn̥*

The original positional variation was considerably disturbed already in the proto IE period, when a short secondary vowel became long due to contraction with a neighbouring *ə*. This newly developed long secondary vowel could remain even after light syllables, which disturbed the original distribution of a short one after a light syllable and a long one after a heavy syllable. This disturbance of the original distribution of long secondary vowels was responsible to a great extent for shaking the superstructure of the positional variaton of the secondary vowels. Consequently the historical languages often present generalizations and the original distribution of positional variation has been practically lost in all of them. It has been retained to a considerable extent only in Sanskrit.

Therefore positional variation of secondary vowels was no more a living factor in Avestan. Several phonetic changes in Av like confusion of *i* : *ī*, *u* : *ū*, as well as of *ər* : *ar* (*r̥* : *r̥̄*/*r̥r*) and orthographic peculiarities like use of *y* for *iy*, *v* for *uv* etc. have completely obscured the original distribution of positional variation in Av. But certain orthographic peculiarities in Av and some apparently peculiar phonological developments in Av are contributions of the once inherited positional variation. Although Av consistently uses *y* & *v* for *iy* & *uv* in orthography, certain phonetic changes in Av explicitly prove that Av distinguished *y* (for *iy*), *v* (for *uv*) from *y* (for *y*) & *v* (for *v*). To take for example IIr *ty*> Av *θy* (cp Av *iθyejå* <IIr *tyaj* cp Skt *tyaj* Gk *sébomai* <IE *tyeg*^{w}) and IIr *tv*> Av *θw* (cp Av *θwąm* <IIr *tvām* cp Skt *tvām*, Gk *se* <IE *twe*). But Av also presents *ty* & *tv* in orthography which always stand for *tī̆y* & *tū̆v* respectively e.g. Av *θritya*– =**θritīya*– cp Skt *tr̥tīya*–, gAv *tvəm* = *tuvəm* cp yAv *tūm* Skt (vd) *t(u)vam* OP *tuvam* etc. Similarly orthographic *y* for *iy* & *v* for *uv* are also clear is cases like Av *fryō* (for **frīyō* cp Skt *priyaḥ*), *yvānəm* (for *yuvānəm* cp Skt *yuvānam*), *hvīra* (for *huvīra* cp Skt *su-vīrāḥ*) etc.

Avestan also shows orthographic *r* for *r̥r* in some highly rare examples. The form *ātrəm* in Haoma yašt is definitely for **ātr̥rəm*, which is to be inferred from the exceptional conjunct *tr* and the syllabic requirements of the metre, cp nom sg. *ātarš* <IIr *ātr̥̄ṣ̌* cp Skt nom sg. *pūr* <IIr *pr̥̄ṣ̌*. Therefore even after IIr *r̥r*>Av *ar* IIr *r̥r* was sometimes metrically alive in Av, just like vedic Sanskrit where also IIr *r̥r*>*ir*/*ur* but still *r̥r* was sometimes metrically alive.

Avestan has often changed the original positional variation to meet its orthographic requirements, as well as for simplification of conjuncts of two consonantal secondary vowels. Some examples are cited below.

Av *mainivå* <*manyvå* <IIr *manyvāu*.

yAv *nāuya* <IIr *nāvyā* beside *nāvaya* <**nāviyā* cp Skt *nāv(i)yā*.

yAv *ōyum* for and beside *ōīum* <**ōīvəm* <IIr *aivam* cp Skt adv *evam*.

gAv *mraoī* <**mrauī* <IIr *mravī*

yAv *haoyąm* <**hauyām* <OIr *havyām* <IIr *savyām* cp Skt *savyām*.

yAv *vaę̄m* 'both' <**uvaēm* <*uwayam* <IIr *ubhayam* cp Skt *ubhayam*.

CHAPTER V

PHONOLOGY - CONSONANTS

53. Indo-European Consonants

(a) gutturals

(i) palatals	*k̂, k̂h, ĝ, ĝh (n̂)*
(ii) (pure) velars	*q, qh, g, gh (ŋ)*
(iii) labio-velars	q^w, q^wh, g^m, g^wh, (*ŋ*)

(b) dentals *t, th, d, dh, (n)*

(c) labials *p, ph, b, bh, (m)*

(d) semi-vowels, liquids and nasals
y, w, r, l, m, n (& n, ŋ)

(e) the spirants *s, z, θ, δ*

53a. The nasals *m, n* are non-syllabic secondary vowels *m̥, n̥* and IE *n, ŋ* developed out of *n* before IE palatals, velars (and labio-velars).

54. Indo-Iranian Consonants

(a) velars	*k, kh, g, gh, (ŋ)*
(b) palatals	*c, ch, j, jh, (ñ)*
(c) dentals	*t, th, d, dh, (n)*
(d) labials	*p, ph, b, bh, (m)*
(e) semi-vowels	*y, v*
(f) liquid	*r*
(g) nasals	*m, n, ŋ, ñ*
(h) spirants	*s, š, ṣ̌, šh, z, ž, ẓ̌, žh.*

55. Avestan Consonants

(a) velars	*k, χ, g, γ*
(b) palatals	*c, j*
(c) dentals	*t, θ, d, δ*

(d) labials *p, f, b, w*
(e) nasals *n, ŋ, ŋ́, m*, (n^{m})
(f) semi-vowels *y, v*
(g) liquid *r*
(h) sibilants *s, z, š*, (*š′, ṣ̌*), *ž*
(i) aspirations *h, h˙*
(j) labio-velar spirant χ^{v}

55a. n^{m} (some use *n* or *n̲*) is a special symbol in Avestan which replaces all nasals like Sanskrit anusvāra. This has been normalized as *n* in the present work.

ŋ́ and *h˙* (some use χ′) are palatalized *ŋ* & *h*.

ṣ̌ & *š′* are two other variants in Avestan for *š*. Some would prefer to use *š′* for the *š* developed from IIr *rt*. Now a days normally it is prefered to use *š* for all the three *š, š′, ṣ̌*. In the present work also *š* is used for all the three.

56. Special Remarks on Avestan Consonants

(a) IE and IIr voiceless aspirates have invariably become voiceless spirants in Old Iranian and consequently in Avestan, except after *s, š* and nasals.

(b) After *s, š* and nasals, the IE & IIr voiceless aspirates have become deaspirated in Old Iranian and consequently in Avestan.

(c) IE and IIr voiced aspirates have merged with voiced non-aspirates in Old Iranian. Thus IIr *bh, dh, gh, jh,* & *žh* > Old Iranian *b, d, g, j* & *z* and fell together with IIr *b, d, g, j* & *ž*. Old Iranian *b, d, g* & *j* (< IIr *b/bh, d/dh, g/gh* & *j/jh*) > gAv *b, d, g* & *j* normally; but in yAv they medially became spirantized, i.e., *w* (= spirant *b*), δ, γ, *ž* unless they were preceded by sibilants or nasals. Further initially also Old Iranian g(= gAv g) > yAv γ if it was followed by a nasal.

(d) IIr *gh* > Old Iranian γ (and consequently Avestan γ) before *ž*.

(e) A combination of IE voiced aspirate with a following *t* or *s* had twofold dialectal developments (vide CGSGH

84(e)). In some dialects the combination of voiced aspirate +*t*> voiced non-aspirate +*dh*, and in others voiceless non-aspirate +*t*; and similarly also the combination of voiced aspirates +*s*> voiced aspirate +*z* in some dialects and voiceless non-aspirate +*s* in others. For example IE *dh*+*t*>*d-dh* in some and *t-t* in others and IE *dh*+*s*>*dh-z* in some and *t-s* in others. Sanskrit, Avestan etc show forms liked ddh and Greek, Latin etc present forms like tt. Avestan and Old Persian present forms like *dhz* (=Av & OP *dz*) and Sanskrit and Greek etc show forms like *ts*.

Thus IE *ĝh*/*gh*/*gʷh*/*dh*/*bh*+*t*> (dialectal) IE *ĝdh*, *gdh*, *gʷdh*, *dᶻdh*, *bdh*> IIr *ždh*, *gdh*, *gdh*, *dᶻdh*, *bdh*> Old Iranian *žd*, *gd*, *gd*, *dᶻd*, *bd*> Av *žd*, *gd*, *gd*, *zd*, *bd* (*wd*). Similarly IE *ĝh*/*gh*/*gʷh*/*dh*/*bh*+*s*> (dialectal) IE *ĝhz*, *ghz*, *gʷhz*, *dhz*> (dialectal) IIr *žhẓ̌*, *ghẓ̌*, *ghẓ̌*, *dhz*, *bhz*> Old Iranian (*z*)*ž*, *γž*, *γž*, *dz*, *bž*> Av *ž*, *γž*, *γž*, *z*, *wž*.

But sometimes Avestan also presents the dialectal formations which are normal to Greek etc. Thus IE *bh*+*t*> Av *pt* instead of *bd*<*bdh* and IE *bh*+*s*> Av *fš* instead of *wž*, in several forms.

(f) Voiceless nonaspirate stops became spirantized in Avestan before consonants. Only *pt* remained *pt* and did not become *ft*; *ky*>*cy* *ts*>*ss*. Spirantization did not occur if *s*/*š* preceded the stop, immediately.

Accordingly *y* & *v* also spirantized the preceding plosive, but *ī̆y*, *ū̆v* (also written *y*, *v* in Av) did not spirantize the stops. Hence the distinction of *y* : *iy* & *v* : *uv* is still retained in Av despite the orthographic similarity of *y* : *iy* & *v* : *uv*.

CHAPTER VI

INDO-EUROPEAN GUTTURALS IN AVESTAN

57. Treatment of Indo-European Guttural Series in Avestan.

The IE language family is classified broadly under two heads, viz. Satəm and Centum, on the basis of the peculiarities in treatment of the Guttural Series.

The IE proto-speech had three varieties of Guttural stops (vide 53), which are represented by only two types in each branch, as shown below :

gutturals	IE	Satəm	Centum
palatals	*k̂, k̂h, ĝ, ĝh*	*š, šh, ž, žh*	*k, kh, g, gh*
velars	*q, qh, g, gh*	*k, kh, g, gh*	*k, kh, g, gh*
labio-velars	q^{w}, $q^{w}h$, g^{w}, $g^{w}h$	*k, kh, g, gh*	*kw/p, khw/ph, gw/b, ghw/bh*

The Satəm languages have developed sibilants out of IE palatals, and velars out of IE velars and labio-velars; and the centum languages have developed velars out of IE palatals & velars and labials or conjuncts of velars with a following *w* out of IE labio-velars. An IE labio-velar was a simple consonant with a labialized velar articulation. In centum the labials out of labio-velars are simple consonants, but the velars followed by *w* are clearly conjuncts.

The Indo-Iranian languages naturally had the same treatment of Gutturals as in Satəm. IIr had a further new development out of the Satəm velars (which are developments in Satəm out of IE velars and labio-velars). This new development is termed as palatalization. The Satəm velars became palatalized in IIr when followed by palatal vowels *ī̆*, *ē̆*, and *y*. Thus a Satəm *k* normally became IIr *k*, but it became IIr *c* when followed by *ī̆*, *ē̆* or *y*. In this way IIr developed a new set of sounds *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh*, & *ñ*.

Avestan, with deaspiration and occasional spirantization of IIr stops, shows *s*<IIr *š*, *šh*, *z*<IIr *ž*, *žh*, *k*/*χ*<IIr *k*, *kh*, *g*/*γ* <IIr *g*, *gh*, *c*/*s* <IIr *c*, *ch* and *j*/*ž* <IIr *j*, *jh*.

Avestan development of the IE guttural series, through Satəm and IIr stages may be represented in the following Table.

gutturals	IE	Satəm	IIr	Avestan
palatals	*k̂ k̂h ĝ ĝh*	*š šh ž žh*	*š šh ž žh*	*s s z z*
velars	*q qh g gh*	*k kh g gh*	*k kh g gh*	*k*/*χ* *k*/*χ* *g*/*γ* *g*/*γ*
labio-velars	q^w q^wh g^w g^wh		*c ch j jh*	*c*/*š* *c*/*š* *j*/*ž* *j*/*ž*

58. IE *k̂*>IIr *š*> Av *s* (cp Skt *ś*, OP *θ*)

IE *dek̂m̥* > IIr *daša* > Av *dasa* cp Skt *daśa*, Gk *déka*, Lat *decem*, Goth *taíhun*.

IE *k̂r̥res–* > IIr *šr̥ras–*> Av *sarah–*, cp Skt *śiras–* 'head', *Arm sar–* 'summit', Gk *kárā* (<**karaha*), Lat *cerebrum* (<IE *k̂r̥res-ro-m*).

IE *k̂m̥tom*> IIr *šatam*> Av *satəm*, cp Skt *śatam*, OP *θata-gu-*, Lith *szim̃tas*, OCS *sŭto*, Gk *he-katón*, Lat *centum*, OIrish *cēt*, Goth *hund*, Tokh *känt*.

58a. Sometimes yAv shows *θ* instead of *s* (<IE *k̂*); (cp Av *θr* <IIr *sr–* initially **33a**)

IE *k̂am* > IIr *šam–*> yAv *θam–* (as in *θamnəm*), cp Skt *śam–*, Gk *kámnō*.

58b. IE *k̂t* > IIr *št*> OIr *št*> Av *št*, cp OP *št* & Skt *ṣṭ*.

IE *ik̂-to-* (√*yaĝ*+*to-*)> IIr *iṣṭa–*> Av *išta–*, Skt *iṣṭa–*.

58c. IE *k̂s*> IIr *šṣ̌*> OIr *š*> Av *š* (but Skt *kṣ* vide **68a**)

IE *qok̂so–*> IIr *kašṣ̌a–*> OIr *kaša–*> Av *kaša–* 'shoulder', cp Skt *kakṣa–*, Lat *coxa*.

59. IIr *šn* & *pš*> OIr *šn* & *fš*> Av *šn* & *fš*

IE *prek̂–no–*> IIr *prašna–* >Av *frašna–*, cp Skt *praśna–* Arm *harsn*, cp also Goth *fraíhnan* 'to ask'.

IE *pk̂u–* (<*pek̂u–*)> IIr *pšu–*> Av *–fšu–* (as in *ha^{u}rva-fšu–*), beside Av *pasu–*, Skt *paśu*, Lat *pecu*, Goth *faíhu* (<IE *pek̂u–*).

60. IE *k̂h*> IIr *šh*> Av *s*, Skt *ch*, Gk *kh*

IE *sk̂*(*h*), *k̂sk̂*(*h*) also became Av *s* & Skt *ch* and therefore cannot be distinguished from IE *k̂h* merely on Skt & Av evidence.

IE *k̂hid–*> IIr *šhid–*> Av *siδ–*, Skt *chid–*, cp Gk *skhízō* <IE *sk̂hidyō* (Av *siδ–* & Skt *chid–* may also be derived from IE *sk̂hid–* **60a**).

60a. IE *sk̂* & *sk̂h*> IIr *šš* & *ššh*> Av *s*, Skt *ch*, but Gk *sk*, *skh*.

IE *g^{w}m̥sk̂et* > IIr *gaššat* > Av *jasat̰* (for **gasat̰*), Skt (vd) *gacchat*, Gk *báske*.

IE *sk̂hid–*> IIr (*š*)*šhid–*> Av *siδ–*, Skt *chid–*, Gk *skhizō* (vide **60** above).

60b. IE *k̂sk̂*(*h*) (perhaps> IE *sk̂*(*h*))> IIr *šš*(*h*)> Av *s* Skt *ch*.

IE *pr̥k̂-sk̂e-ti*> (perhaps IE *pr̥sk̂eti*)> IIr *pr̥ššati*> Av *parəsa^{i}ti*, OP *pr̥satiy*, Lat *poscet*.

61. IE *ĝ*> IIr *ž*> Av *z*, Skt *j* OP δ (written *d*)

IE *ĝeuso–*> IIr *žauṣ̌a–* > Av *zaoṣ̌a–*, Skt *joṣa–*, cp OP *dau̇šta* (2 sg. aor mid), Gk *geúō*, Lat *gustus*, OIrish *to-gu* 'choice', Goth *kiusa* 'I choose'.

IE *ĝn̥tos*>IIr *žātas*> Av *zātō*, Skt *jātaḥ*, Lat (*g*)*nātus*, cp OCS *znati*.

IE *yaĝeti*> IIr *yažati*> Av *yaza*^{i}*ti*, Skt *yajati*, cp OP *yadātaiy* (subjunc mid), cp Gk *házomai* < IE *yaĝyomai*.

62. IE *ĝn*> IIr *žn*> OIr *šn*> Av *šn*

IE *ĝnu–* (weak grade of *ĝenu*)> IIr *žnu–*> Av *–šnu–*, cp Skt *jñu–*, Gk *gnúks*.

62a. Av *yasna–* (for **yašna–* <IIr *yažna–* <IE *yaĝno–* Skt *yajñaḥ* cp Gk *hagnós* , has *s* for *š* in analogy with forms like *yaza*^{i}*ti* etc with dental *z*.

62b. IE *ĝm*> IIr *žm*> Av *sm* (not *šm* nor *zm*)

IE *reĝmen–* > IIr *ražman–* > Av *rasman* 'column' beside Av *rāzaye*^{i}*ti* 'straightens' <IIr *rāžayati* <IE *rēĝeyeti*, cp Gk *orégō* Lat *regō* <IE *reĝō*, Skt *r̥ñjati* <IE *r̥ñĝeti*

63. IE *ĝd* & *ĝdh* (*ĝdh* < IE *ĝh-d* < IE *ĝh*+*t*) > IIr *ẓ̌d* & *ẓ̌dh*> Av *žd* & *žd* (i.e. fell together), Skt *ḍ*, *ḍh* (<**ẓ̌ḍ* & **ẓ̌ḍh* and then with loss of **ẓ* in Skt).

IE *mr̥ĝdīqo–*>IIr *mr̥ẓ̌dika–*>Av *mərəždika–*, Skt *mr̥ḍīka–* (IE √ *mr̥ĝ* or *mr̥s* ? 145)

IE *uĝdhro–* (<IE *uĝh*+*tro–* √*weĝh*)>IIr *uẓ̌dhra–*>yAv *uždra–*, cp Skt *ūḍha*<IIr *uẓ̌dha–*<IE *uĝdho–* <*uĝh* +*ta–*)

64. IE *ĝh* > IIr *žh*> Av *z*, Skt *h* (<**jh*), OP δ (written *d*)

IE *bhāĝhus*>IIr *bhāžhuš*>Av *bāzuš*, cp Skt *bāhuḥ*, Gk *pêkhus*, OHG *buog*, OIcel *bōgr* 'bow'.

IE *ĝheuter–* > IIr *žhautar–* >Av *zaotar–*, Skt *hotar–*, cp Gk *khéō* 'I pour' (<IE *ĝhewō*).

65. IE *ĝhn* & *ĝhm*> IIr *žhn* & *žhm*> Av *šn* & *sm* (just like *šn* <IE *ĝn* 62 & *sm* <IE *ĝm* 63)

IE *bhr̥ĝhnus*> IIr *bhr̥žhnuṣ̌*> Av *barəšnuš* 'height' beside Av *bərəzant–*, Skt *br̥hant–* <IE *bhr̥ĝhont–*

IE *meiĝhmen–*>IIr *maižhman–*>Av *maēsman-*, beside Skt *meh–*<IE *meiĝh–*

65a. Av gen *zəmō* (=*zmō* <IE *ĝhmos*), inst *zəmā* (=*zmā* <IE *ĝhmā*) for **smō*, **smā* have retained *z* due to influence of nom *zå*, acc *ząm* etc.

65b. IE *ĝh+t* and *ĝh+s* had two dialectal developments (56(e)). *ĝh+t*>*ĝdh* in some & *k̂t* in others, and *ĝh+s*>*ĝhz* in some & *k̂s* in others.

Avestan normally shows developments from IE *ĝdh* (>Av *žd*) and IE *ĝhz* (> Av *ž*); but sometimes also Av presents the other dialectal developments, from IE *k̂t* (> Av *št*) and *k̂s* (> Av *š*).

(i) IE *ĝh+t*> IE *ĝdh*> IIr *ẓ̌dh*> OIr *žd*> Av *žd* normally.

IE *uĝh+tro–*>IE *uĝdhro–* (√ *weĝh*)>IIr *uždhra–*>yAv *uždra–* , cp Skt *ūḍḥa–* <IE *uĝdho–* <*uĝh+to–*

(ii) IE *ĝh+t*> IE *k̂t*> IIr *ṣ̌t*> OIr *št*> Av *št* sometimes.

IE *weĝh+to–* > *wek̂to–* > IIr *vaṣ̌ta–* > yAv *vašta–*

(iii) IE *ĝh+s*> IE *ĝhz*> IIr *žhẓ̌*> OIr (*z*)*ž*> Av *z* normally.

IE *weĝh+se-t*> *weĝhzet* > IIr *važhẓ̌at*> OIr *va*(*z*)*žat*> yAv *–važat̰* cp Skt (vd) *vakṣat* Lat *vexit*.

(iv) IE *ĝh+s*> IE *k̂s*> IIr *šṣ̌*> OIr (*s*)*š*> Av *š* sometimes.

IE *weĝh+se-to*>IE *wek̂seto*> IIr *vašṣ̌ata*>OIr *va*(*s*)*ṣ̌sata* >Av *vašata*, Skt (vd) **vakṣata*

66. IE *q* &*qʷ*>IIr *k*>OIr *k*>Av *k*, cp Skt *k*, OP *k*, Gk *k* etc.

IE *qr̥to–*>IIr *kr̥ta–*>Av *kərəta–*, OP *kr̮ta–*, Skt *kr̥ta–*, cp Gk *kraínō*, Lat *creāre*.

IE *qok̂so–* > IIr *kašṣ̌a–* > OIr *ka*(*s*)*ša–*>Av *kaša–* 'shoulder', Skt *kakṣa–* 'arm-pit', Lat *coxa*.

IE *qʷos*> IIr *kas*> Av *kō*, Skt *kaḥ*, Lith *kàs*, Goth *hvas*, Gk *pó-then*.

IE *wl̥qʷos*>IIr *vr̥kas*>Av *vəhrkō*, Skt *vr̥kaḥ*, Lith *vil̃kas*, Goth *wulfs*, Gk *lúkos*, Lat *lupus*.

67. IE *q* & *qʷ*, when followed by *ī̆/ē̆*> IIr *c*> OIr *c*> Av *c*, Skt *c*, OP *c*.

IE *qʷe*> IIr *ca*> OIr *ca*> Av *ca*, OP *cā*, Skt *ca*, Gk *te* Lat *que*.

IE *peŋqʷe*> IIr *pañca*> OIr *pañca* > Av *panca*, Skt *pañca*, Gk *pénte*, Lat *quīnque*.

67a. IE *q/qʷ*> IIr *c* before *y* also (69).

68. IIr *k* (< IE *q/qʷ*)> OIr x > Av x, when it was followed by a consonant (except *y* 69).

IE *qrūro-* > IIr *krūra-*>Av *xrūra-*, Skt *krūra-*, beside Skt *kraviḥ*, Gk *kréas*< IE *qrewəs*.

IE *uqʷto-* > IIr *ukta-* > Av *uxta-* , Skt *ukta-*.

68a. IIr *kṣ̌* (< IE *qs/qʷs*)> OIr *xš*> Av *xš*, (as distinct from IIr *šṣ̌* (< IE *ḱs*) which became OIr (*s*)*š* & Av *š* (58c). This distinction was lost in Skt, where both IIr *kš* & *šṣ̌*> *kṣ*).

IE *weqʷsyō* > IIr *vakṣyā(mi)*> OIr *vaxšyā(mi)* > gAv *vaxšyā* cp Skt *vakṣyāmi*.

69. IE *qy/qʷy* > IIr *cy* > OIr *šy* > Av *šy*, OP *šy* (written *šiy*) but Skt *cy*.

IE *qʷyew-* > IIr *cyav-* >OIr *šyav-* > gAv *šyavāi*, OP *ašiyavam*, Skt *cyavate*, Gk (Hom) *seûe*.

IE *weqʷyetai* > IIr *vacyate*> Av *vašyetē*, cp Skt *ucyate* <IE *uqʷyetai*.

70. IE *qh* & *qʷh*> IIr *kh*> OIr x> Av x, OP x, Skt *kh*

IE *qhumbho-* > IIr *khumbha-* > Av *xumba-* , cp Skt *kumbha-* (with *k* for *kh* by Grassmann's law).

IE *soqhō(i)*> IIr *sakhā*>Av *haxā*, OP *haxā(-manišiya-)*, Skt *sakhā*.

71. IIr *kh*> Av *k* after sibilants (nasals).

IE *sqʷhr̥̄no–* > IIr *skhr̥̄na–* > Av *skarəna–* ‘round’, Gk *sphaîra* (<IE *sqʷhr̥yā*).

72. IE *qh/qʷh* followed by *ī̆*, *ē̆*, *y* > IIr *ch* > Av *š*, Skt *ch*

IE *soqhyai*> IIr *sachyai*> Av **hašyē*> Av *hašē*, cp Skt *sakhye* (Skt *kh* for **ch* after *sakhā*).

73. IIr *ch* (< IE *qh/qʷh* followed by *ī̆*, *ē̆*) when preceded by *s* (or nasal)> Av *c*.

IE *sqhend–* > IIr *schand–* > Av *scand–* ‘break’, cp Skt (gram) *skhad* (< IE *sqhn̥d*) ‘tear’.

74. IE *q* & *qʷ*> IIr *g*> OIr *g* > gAv *g* and yAv *g*/*γ*.

IIr *g*> OIr *g* always, because OIr *γ* before *ž* is always traceable to IIr *gh*; i.e. OIr *γž* < IIr *ghž* < IE *ghz/gʷhz* < IE *gh/gʷh*+*s* (79a). IIr *gh*> OIr *g* and had identical treatment in Avestan with IIr *g* in all other cases.

gAv *g* > yAv *g* & *γ*; yAv shows *g* initially, unless it was followed by a nasal or an anaptyctic *ə*+ nasal, when it became *γ* in yAv; yAv shows *g* medially, unless it was preceded by a nasal or sibilant, when it became *g*. Accordingly they may be illustrated below.

(i) IE *g* & *gʷ*> IIr *g*> OIr *g*> gAv *g* & yAv *g* initially when not followed by a nasal.

IE *gr̥ros*> IIr *gr̥ras*>OIr *garah*> gAv & yAv *garō*, Skt *giraḥ*, cp Gk *géras* <IE *gern̥s*.

IE *gʷōus*>IIr *gāuṣ̌*>gAv & yAv *gāuš*, Skt *gauḥ*, Gk *boûs*.

IE *gʷolbho–* >IIr *garbha–* >OIr *garba–*>yAv *garəwa–*, Skt *garbha–* cp Gk *a–delphós*.

(ii) IE *g* & *gʷ*> IIr *g*> OIr *g*> gAv *g*, but yAv *γ*, initially when it was followed by a nasal or an anaptyctic *ə*+ nasal.

IE *gʷnā–* > IIr *gnā–* > OIr *gnā–* > gAv *gᵊnā* ‘nom sg’, yAv *γnå*, *γᵊnå* acc.pl, Skt *gnāḥ*, Gk (Boeot) *banȧ*.

(iii) IE *g* & *gʷ* > IIr *g*> OIr *g*> gAv *g* but yAv *γ* medially, when not preceded by a nasal or a sibilant.

IE *ugro-*>IIr *ugra-* >OIr *ugra-* > gAv *ugra-*, but yAv *uɣra-*, Skt *ugra-*, cp Lat *augeo*.

IE *bhago-*>IIr *bhaga-*> OIr *baga-* > yAv *baɣa-* 'god', OP *baga-* 'god', Skt *bhaga-* 'god', cp Gk *phágos* 'glutton', cp gAv *būga-* 'share', Skt *bhāga-* 'share'; all forms < IE √*bhag* 'share, grant share'.

(iv) IE *g* & g^w> IIr *g*> OIr *g*> gAv *g* and yAv *g* medially, when preceded by a nasal or sibilant.

IE *eŋgustho-* > IIr *aŋguštha-*>OIr *aŋgušta-*>Av *aŋgušta-* 'toe', Skt *aṅguṣṭha-* 'toe', Alb *gišt*.

IE *mozgo-* > IIr *mazga-* > OIr *mazga-* > yAv *mazga-* 'marrow' cp Skt *majjati* 'sinks', *madguḥ* 'a water-fowl', Lith *mazgóti*, OCS *mozgŭ* 'marrow'.

75. IE *g* & g^w followed by *ē̆/ī̆/y*> IIr *j*> OIr *j* > gAv *j*, yAv *j/ž*, cp Skt *j*, OP *j*.

gAv *j* > yAv *j* initially and *ž* medially. yAv retains *j* medially after nasals and *z*. Sometimes also yAv shows *j* for *ž* without proper justification. IIr *jh* (< IE *gh*/g^wh vide 78) also became OIr *j* and had a similar treatment in gAv & yAv.

(i) Initially IIr *j* > OIr *j* > gAv *j*, yAv *j*

IE g^w*emet*> IIr *jamat* >OIr *jamat* >gAv *jimaṯ* cp yAv *jasaṯ* (75a), OP *jamiyā* <IIr *jamyāt*, Skt *jamad-agniḥ*< IE g^w*emn̥t-ognis*.

IE g^w*īwo-* >IIr *jīva-* >OIr *jīva-* > Av *jva-*, *java-*, Skt *jīva-*,cp OP (impv) *jīvā*, Gk *bíos*, Goth *qius*, OCS *živa*

(ii) Medially IIr *j* > OIr *j* > gAv *j* but yAv *ž*

IE *bheget* > IIr *bhajat*> OIr *bajat* > yAv *bažaṯ* cp Skt *(a)bhajat*, cp Gk *phagés* 'you have eaten'<IE *bhages*.

IE *neinig*^{w}*eti* > IIr/OIr *nainijati*> yAv *naēniža*^{i}*ti*, cp Skt (cl)*nenijyate* beside (vd) *nenikti*, cp Gk *khérniba* 'water for the hands' < IE *ĝhesr-nig*^{w}*m̥* (acc).

iii) Medially IIr *j* > (OIr, gAv & yAv) *j* after *z* & nasals.

cp gAv *uzjāma–* < IE *udg^{w}ēmo–* cp Skt *udgama–*
yAv *hanjamana–* <IE *sem-g^{w}emena–* cp Skt *sam-gamana–*

iv) Medially sometimes yAv shows *j* for expected *ž*.

IE *auges*>IIr/OIr *aujas*> yAv *aojō* (for *–*ž*–), Skt *ojaḥ*,
cp also gAv *aogō̆* (< IE *augos*), Lat *augeo*.

75a. Av *jasaṯ* (< IE *g^{w}m̥sk̂et*) etc show *j*– for *g*– (cp Skt *gacchat*) after Av *jimaṯ* etc.

76. IIr *gv* (< IE *g^{w}*/*g^{w}w*) > OIr *gv* > gAv *gv* > yAv *v*.
gAv *hvogva–* > yAv *hvova–* 'a family name' (vide Brugmann : CGIGL : I 450).

77. IE *gh* & *g^{w}h*> IIr *gh*> OIr *g*> gAv *g* & yAv *g*/*γ*. (For IIr *ghž*> OIr *γž* vide 79a).

OIr *g* < IIr *gh* had the same treatment in Av, as OIr *g* < IIr *g* (74). Thus gAv shows *g* always, but yAv shows initially *g* (unless immediately followed by a nasal or anaptyctic ə+nasal) and medially *γ* (unless immediately preceded by a nasal or *z*). Accordingly they are illustrated below.

(i) IE *gh* & *g^{w}h*> IIr *gh*> OIr *g*> gAv *g*> yAv *g* initially when not followed by a nasal immediately.

IE *g^{w}hormos*> IIr *gharmas* > gAv & yAv *garəmō* OP *garma–*, Skt *gharma–*, Lat *formus*, Goth *warms*, cp Gk *thermós*

IE *ghos–* > IIr *ghas–* > Av *gah–*, Skt *ghas–* 'eat', cp Ht *gast–* 'hunger'.

(ii) IE *gh* & *g^{w}h*> IIr *gh*> OIr g> gAv *g* > yAv *γ* initially when it was followed by a nasal, or anaptyctic ə+nasal.

IE *g^{w}hnos* (gen s.g. of *g^{w}hen–* < √*g^{w}hen–*)> IIr *ghnas*
>OIr *gnah* > yAv *–γnō* (cp *vərəθraγnō*) Skt *–ghnaḥ*
(cp *vr̥traghnaḥ*), cp Gk *épephnon* <IE *eg^{w}heg^{w}hnom*.

(iii) IE *gh* & *g^{w}h*> IIr *gh*> OIr *g*> gAv *g*> yAv *γ* medially (when not immediately preceded by a nasal or *z*).

IE *dl̥̄ghos-* >IIr *dr̥̄gha-*>OIr *darga-*> gAv *darəga-*> yAv *darəγa-*,cp Skt *dīrgha-*,Ht *daluga-*,Gk *dolikhós*.

(iv) IE *gh* & *gʷh*> IIr *gh*> OIr> gAv *g*> yAv *g* medially, when immediately preceded by a nasal or *z*.

IE *ĝheŋgho-* >IIr *žhaŋgha-* >OIr *žaŋga-* > Av *zaŋga-* 'heel-bone', cp Skt *jaṅghā*, Goth *gagga* 'I go'.

78. IE *gh* & *gʷh* followed by *ē̆/ī̆/y* > IIr *jh*> OIr *j*> gAv *j*, yAv *j/ž* cp Skt *h*(<**jh*), OP *j*.

gAv *j*> yAv *j* initially and *ž* medially. yAv retains *j* medially after nasals & *z*. Sometimes also yAv shows *j* for *ž* without proper justification. IIr *j* had a similar treatment (vide 75).

i) Initially IIr *jh* > OIr, gAv, yAv *j*.

IE *gʷhenti*> IIr *jhanti* > yAv *jaⁱnti*, cp gAv *ajən* (<IE *e-gʷhen-s* Impt 2 s.g.), Skt *hanti*, OP *ajanam* (<IE *e-gʷhen-m̥m*), cp Gk *theînō* (< IE *gʷhenyō*).

ii) Medially IIr *jh*> OIr, gAv *j* but yAv *ž*.

IE *dhegʷheti* > IIr *dhajhati* > yAv *dažaⁱti*, Skt *dahati*, cp Goth *dags* (<IE *dhogʷhos*).

IE *ogʷhis* > IIr *ojhiš*> yAv *ažiš*, Skt *ahiḥ*, Gk *óphis*.

iii) Medially yAv retains *j* (< IIr *jh*) after *z* & nasals.

IE *leŋgʷheti*>IIr *rañjhati*>yAv *rənjaⁱti*, cp Skt *raṃhate* (<IE *leŋgʷhetai*).

iv) Sometimes yAv shows medially *j* for expected **ž*.

IE *dhreughistho-* > IIr *dhraujhiṣtha-* > yAv *draojišta-* , cp gAv *draojō* (<IE *dhreughes* nom pl), Skt *drohaḥ*, OHG *triogan* (beside yAv regular *-ž-* in *družanti* <IE *dhrughont-i*, pres pple loc sg).

79. IIr *ghv* (<IE *ghw/gʷhw*) > OIr *gv*> gAv *gv* but yAv *v* (just like IIr *gv* 76)

IIr *raghvī-* (<IE *l̥ngʷhī-*)> OIr *ragvi-*> yAv *ravi-*, cp Skt *raghvī-/laghvī-* cp Gk *elakhús* (IE *l̥ngʷhus*),

IIr *dhrughvant-* > OIr *drugvant-*> gAv *drəgvant-* >
yAv *drvant-* cp Skt **drughvant-*

79a. IE *gh/g^{w}h+t* and *gh/gh+s* had two alternative dialectal developments in IE historical languages. IE *gh/g^{w}h+t*>*gdh/g^{w}dh* in some & *qt/q^{w}t* in others. IE *gh/g^{w}h+s*> *ghz/g^{w}hz* in some & *qs/q^{w}s* in others. Av normally shows developments of IE *gdh/g^{w}dh* and *ghz/g^{w}hz* type and sometimes also of IE *qt/q^{w}t* and *qs/q^{w}s* type (vide 56(e)).

(i) IE *gh/g^{w}h+t*>IE *gdh/g^{w}dh*>IIr *gdh*> OIr *gd*> Av *gd* (normally).

gAv *aog'dā* <OIr *augda*<IIr *augdha*<IE *eugdha*<IE
eugh+to cp Skt *ohate*, Gk *eúkhomai*

(ii) IE *gh/g^{w}h+t*>IE *qt/q^{w}t*>IIr *kt*>OIr *kt*>Av *χt* (sometimes).

yAv *aoχta*<OIr/IIr *aukta*<IE *eugh+to* cp Skt *ohate*,
Gk *eúkhomai*

(iii) IE *gh/g^{w}h+s*>IE *ghz*>IIr *ghž*>OIr *gž*>Av *γž* (normally).

gAv *aoγžā* <OIr *auγža* <IIr *aughẓ̌a* <IE *eughzo* <IE
eugh+so, cp Skt *ohate* etc.

(iv) IE *gh/g^{w}h+s*>IE *qs/q^{w}s*>IIr *kṣ̌*>OIr *χš*>Av *χš* (sometimes).

yAv *daχša*<OIr *daχša*<IIr *dhakṣ̌a*<IE *dheq^{w}so*<IE
dheg^{w}h+so, cp Skt *dahati*, Goth *dags* etc.

CHAPTER VII

INDO-EUROPEAN DENTALS AND LABIALS IN AVESTAN

80. IE *t*> IIr *t*> OIranian & Avestan *t* only before vowels and also after sibilants. Otherwise IIr *t*> OIr & Av *θ*.

i) *t* before vowels.

IE *tom*> IIr *tam*>gAv *təm*, yAv *təm*, cp Skt *tam*, Gk *ton*, Ht *tan*, Goth *þana*.

IE *peteti*>IIr *patati*>Av *pata^{i}ti*, cp Skt *patati*, Ht *petatsi*, cp OP *ud-apatatā*, cp Gk *pétomai*.

ii) *t* after sibilants.

IE *esti*>IIr *asti*>Av *asti*, OP *astiy*, Skt *asti*, Gk *estí*, Lat *est*, Goth *ist*.

iii) *θ* otherwise.

IE *tyeg^{w}es*>IIr *tyajas*>Av *iθyejah–*, cp Skt *tyajati*, Gk *sébomai*.

IE *treyes*>IIr *trayas*>Av *θrāyō*, cp Skt *trayaḥ*, Gk *treîs*, Lat *trēs*.

IE *twēm*>IIr *tvām*>Av *θwa̮m*, cp OP *θuvām*, Skt *tvām*, cp Gk *sé*<IE *twe*.

IE *putlos*>IIr *putras*>Av *puθrō*, cp Skt *putraḥ*, OP *pus^{r}a*, Osc puklo– .

80a. Av shows δ unstead of *θ* (<IIr *t*), when it is preceded by *f*/*x* and followed by *r*/*v* (vide **85**)

81. IIr *tk* (<IE *tq*/*tq^{w}*)>Av *t̰k*

Av *at̰ka–* (also *aδka–*) 'dress', cp Skt *atka–*

Av *tat̰kuš–* (cp *taca^{i}ti*) <IIr *tatkuṣ–* (weak grade of pf pple).

81a. Sometimes, IIr *tk*>Av *sk* instead of *t̰k*.

gAv *uskāt̰* 'high' <IIr *utkāt* <IE *ut-q^{w}ōd*<*ud*+*q^{w}ōd*.

Here *s* may be due to generalization of *us*- <IE *ud* or due to influence of Av *sc*<IIr *tc* (82).

82. IIr *tc* (<IE *tq*/*tq^{w}* followed by a palatal vowel)> OIranian *sc* (*tc*>*t^{s}c*> *sc*) Av *sc*, OP *šc*, but Skt *cc* (by assimilation of *tc*).

IE *utq^{w}ę̄* (<IE *ud*+*q^{w}ę̄*)>IIr *utcā*>yAv *usca* cp OP *aniyašca*<IIr *anyatca* cp Skt *uccā*.

IE *yotq^{w}e* (<IE *yod*+*q^{w}e*)>IIr *yatca*>gAv *yascā*, yAv *yasca* (beside *yat̰*), cp Skt *yacca* (beside *yat*).

82a. Sometimes IIr *tc* is attested as Av *t̰c*, because of generalization of forms in -*t̰* (sg. *yat̰* etc), or due to influence of Av *t̰k* <IIr *tk*.

yAv *yat̰cit̰* cp Skt *yaccit*
gAv *at̰cā* <IIr *atca*
yAv *at̰cit̰*<IIr *atcit*

83. IE *ts*>IIr *ts*>OIr *ss*>Av *s* (perhaps *s* in written for *ss*).

IE *ut-snā*– (<IE *ud-snā*-)>IIr *utsnā*–>OIr *us*(*s*)*nā*>yAv *usnā^{i}ti*– cp Skt *ut-snā*–.

IE *matsyo*–>IIr *matsya*–>OIr *ma*(*s*)*sya*–>yAv *masya*– 'fish', cp Skt *matsya*– (IE *matsyo*–<IE √*mad*– cp cp Skt *mad*–, gAv *mada*–, yAv *maδa*– 'intoxication', Gk *madáo*, Lat *madeo*).

84. IE *tst*(*h*) & *t^{s}t*(*h*) (<*tt*(*h*))>IIr *t^{s}th*>OIr *st*> Av *st*, cp OP *st* but Skt *tt*(*h*).

ut^{s}tm̥mo-(<*ud*+*tm̥mo*-)>IIr *ut^{s}tama*–>OIr *ustama*–> Av *ustəma*–, cp Skt *uttama*–, Gk *hústatos*.

IE *pet^{s}tis* (<*pet* or *ped*+*ti-s*)>IIr *pat^{s}tiṣ̌*>OIr *pastiš*> Av –*pastiš*, OP *pastiš* Skt *pattiḥ*.

IE *woit^{s}tha* (<*woid*+*tha*)>IIr *vait^{s}tha*>Av *vōista*, cp Skt *vettha*, Gk *oîstha*.

84a. It should be remembered that Av *us* (as in *usca* 82, *usnā^{i}ti* 83, *ustəma*– 84) is always a secondary development and does not represent IE *us*, which in turn becomes Av *uš* <IIr *uṣ̌*.

85. IIr *tr* & *tv*, which normally became *θr* & *θw* in Av, have become *δr* & *δw* in Av after *f* & *χ*.

IE *ptr-os*>IIr *ptras*>yAv *fᵊδrō* (gen sg.), cp Skt *pituḥ*< IE *pətr̥s* & Gk *patrós*<IE *pətros*.

IE *ptr-ai*>IIr *ptrai*>gAv *fᵊδrōi* (dat sg.), cp yAv *piθrē*, Skt *pitre* <IE *pətrai*

IE *neptros*>IIr *naptras*>yAv *nafᵊδrō* (gen) cp Skt *naptrā* (inst).

IE *weqʷ-tro-*> IIr *vaktra-*> gAv *vaχᵊδra-* 'word', cp Skt *vaktra-* 'mouth'.

IE *weqʷ-two-*>IIr *vaktva-*> yAv *vaχəδwa-* 'word', cp Skt (RV) *vaktva-* 'worthy to be uttered'.

86. IIr *rt*>OIr *rt*>Av *š̌'*, if accent preceded immediately (130a). But final *rt* was not effected (87). *š̌'* is normally printed *š̌* in this work.

IE *mértyo-* >IIr *mártya-*>Av *maš̌'ya-*, cp Skt *martya-*, OP *martiya-*.

87. IIr final *t*>Av *t̰*

IIr *yat* (<IE *yod*)>Av *yat̰*, cp Skt *yat*

IIr *bharat* (<IE *bheret*)>Av *barat̰*, cp Skt *abharat*.

IIr *sakr̥t* (<IE *sm̥-qr̥t*)>Av *hakərət̰*, cp Skt *sakr̥t*

IIr *cart* (<IE *qert*)>gAv *cōr't̰* <**cart* cp Skt (vd) *kaḥ*(=*kar*)<IIr *kart*.

88. IE *th*>IIr *th*>Av *θ*

IE *dedōtha*>IIr *dadātha*>gAv *dadāθa*, cp Skt *dadātha* cp Gk *oîstha*<IE *woitˢtha*.

IE *isk̂ethe* (<*is-sk̂e-the*)>IIr *iš̌atha*>Av *isaθa*, cp Skt *icchatha*.

IE *septm̥tho-*>IIr *saptatha*>Av *haptaθa-*, cp Skt (vd) *haptatha-*.

89. IE *sth*>IIr *sth*>Av *st*

IE *sthāno–*>IIr *sthāna-*>Av *stāna–*, cp Skt *sthāna–*, Gk (Dor) *dústānos.*

89a. IE *tsth* & *t*^{s}*th*>IIr *t*^{s}*th*>Av *st* (vide 84).

90. IE *nth*>IIr *nth*>Av *nt*

IIr *panthās*>Av *pantå* cp Skt *panthāḥ.*

91. Av *θ* (<IIr *tha*)>δ after χ & *f.*

IE *uq*^{w}*-tho-*>IIr *uktha–*>Av *uχδa–* 'spoken' cp Skt *uktha–* 'saying'.

IE *we-woq*^{w}*-tha*>IIr *vavaktha*>Av *vavaχδa* cp Skt (vd) *vavaktha* (pf 2nd sg).

IE *tremp-tho–*>IIr *tramptha–*>yAv *θrąfəδa–* 'content' cp Skt *tr̥mpati*, *tr̥pta–*, Gk *térpō*<IE √*terep*/*trep*/*terp*/*tr̮p*.

91a. Note that Av *θ* (<IIr *t*) also became δ after χ/*f* but before *w*/*r* only, whereas Av *θ*(<IIr *th*)>δ after χ/*f* always.

91b. IE *th-s* (like *t-s*, vide 85)>OIr *ss*>Av *s.*

But no sure example is citable.

92. IE *d*>IIr *d*>OIr *d*>gAv *d*>yAv *d*/δ.

IE/IIr *d*>OIr *d* always, because OIr *zz*<*δ*z* (which has become gAv/yAv *z*) is always traceable to IE/IIr *dhz* i.e. OIr *zz*<*δ*z*<IIr *dhz*<IE *dhz*<IE *dh*+*s*, which became dialectally IE *ts* (vide 56e).

IE/IIr *dh*>OIr *d* and had the same treatment with OIr *d*<IE/IIr *d* in all other cases as shown here.

gAv *d*>yAv *d* initially except when followed by *m* (gAv *dm*>yAv *nm* **92a**) or *b* (gAv *db*>yAv δ*b* **92c**), and yAv δ medially except when preceded by a nasal (gAv *nd*>yAv *nd* **93a**) or a sibilant (gAv *zd*/*žd*>yAv *zd*/*žd* **93a**) and sometimes otherwise (**93b**).

Some examples of yAv initial *d*<gAv *d* <OIr/IIr/IE *d* are cited below.

IE *dl̥gho-*>IIr *dr̥gha-*>OIr *darga-*> gAv *darəga-*, yAv *darᵊγa-*, cp Skt *dīrgha-*, Ht *daluga-*, Gk *dolikhós*.

IE *dek̂m̥*>IIr *daša*>OIr *daša*>gAv *dasā*, yAv *dasa*, cp Skt *daśa*, Gk *déka*, Lat *decem*.

IE *deiwo-*>IIr *daiva-*>OIr *daiva-*>gAv *daēva-*, yAv *daēva-*, cp OP *daiva-*, Skt *deva-*, Lat *deus*, Lith *dẽvas* (in Av & OP 'demon', in others 'god').

92a. IIr *dm*>OIr *dm*>gAv *dm*, yAv *nm*

yAv *nmāna-* cp gAv *dᵊmāna-*<*dmāna-*.

92b. IIr *dn*>OIr *dn* or *mu* (?)> Av *n*

IE *sk̂hidnām*>IIr (*š*)*šhidnām*>Av *sinąm* cp Skt *chinnām*.

92c. gAv *db*>yAv *δb*

yAv *δbiš*, gAv *dbiš*<IIr *dviš*. cp Skt *dviṣ* (94).

yAv *paδᵊbyas-ca*<OIr *padbyas* cp gAv *padəbiš*<OIr *padbiš*<IIr *padbhiṣ*.

93. IE *d*>IIr *d*>OIr *d*>gAv *d*>yAv *δ* medially (except after nasals, sibilants and sometimes otherwise).

IE *mado-*>IIr/OIr *mada-*>gAv *mada-*, yAv *maδa-* cp Gk *madáō*, Lat *madeo*

IE *pōdm̥m*>IIr/OIr *pādaṃ*>yAv *pāδəm* (gAv **pādəm*), cp Skt *pādam*, Gk *póda*, Lat *pedem*.

IE *woide*>IIr/OIr *vaida*>gAv *vaēdā*, yAv *vaēδa*, cp Skt *veda*, Gk *oîde*.

93a. gAv *d*>yAv *d* medially after nasals and sibilants.

IE *windonti*> IIr/OIr *vindanti*> yAv *vindənti*, cp Skt *vindanti*.

IE *sezdyēt*>IIr *sazdyāt*>OIr *hazdyāt*>Av *hazdyāt̰* cp Skt *seduḥ* (<IIr *sazdr̥r*)

93b. Otherwise also sometimes yAv shows *d* for *δ* medially.

yAv *dādarᵊsa*<OIr *dādarsa*<IIr *dādarša* cp Skt *dadarśa*, Gk *dédorka* <IE *dedork̂a*

yAv *arᵊdrō* 'faithful' cp Skt *r̥du-*(as in RV *r̥dūdara-* 'kind hearted').

93c. IE *dd*>IE *d*^{z}*d*>IIr *d*^{z}*d*>OIr *zd* (like IE *d*^{z}*dh* **99a**)

IE *ud*^{z}*desyu–*>IIr *ud*^{z}*dasyu–*>OIr *uzdahyu–*>Av *uzdaŋhu–* cp Skt *uddeśa–* <IIr *ud*^{z}*daiša–*.

94. IE *dw*>IIr *dv*>OIr *dv*

(IE *dhw*>IIr *dhv*>OIr *dv* **96c**).

OIr *dv* (<IIr *dv/dw*)> initially gAv *db/* (sometimes) *b*, yAv *δb/t̰b/* (sometimes) *b*.

IIr *dviṣ̌–*>gAv *d*^{a}*biš–*, yAv *δbiš–/t̰biš–*, cp Skt *dviṣ–*.

IIr *dvitiya–*>gAv *d*^{a}*bitya–*, yAv *bitya–*, cp OP *duvitīya–*, Skt *dvitīya–*.

94a. OIr *dv* (<IIr *dv/dhv*)>medially Av *δv/δw*.

IIr *vidvās*>Av *viδvå* cp Skt *vidvān*; cp also Av *ərəδwa–* (**96c**).

94b. Besides Av shows *dv* also which is traceable to OIr *duv* (<IIr *duv/dhuv* <IE *duw/dhuw*), OIr *duv–* becomes *duy–* before *–e* (since *–uv–*>*uy* in Av always before *–e–* and sometimes before other vowels).

IIr/OIr *duvā* (Mc)>yAv *dva* (= *duva*) cp Skt (vd) *d*^{u}*vā*

IIr/OIr *duvai* (Fem-Nt)>yAv *duye* cp Skt (vd) *d*^{u}*ve.*

95. IE *dh*>IIr *dh*>OIr *d*>gAv *d*>yAv *d/δ*

IE/IIr *dh*>OIr *d* and fell together with OIr *d*<IE/IIr *d* (vide **92**). Only in combination with *z*, *dh* has became *z* in Av (i.e. *dhz*>**δz*>**zz*>Av *z*; vide **97**).

gAv *d* (<IIr *dh* like IIr *d*)>yAv *d* initially except when followed by *m* (gAv *dm*>yAv *nm* **82a**) or *b* (gAv *db*>yAv *δb* **92c**), and yAv δ medially except when followed by a nasal (gAv *nd*>yAv *nd* **96a**) or sibilant (gAv *zd/žd*>yAv *zd/žd* **96a**).

Some examples of initial yAv *d* <gAv *d*<OIr *d*<IIr/IE *dh* are cited below.

IE *dhers–*>IIr *dharṣ̌*>Av *daršis* 'vehement' cp OP *adaršnauš* 'he dared', Skt *dharṣati* 'he dares', Gk *tharsús* 'daring', Goth *ga-dars* 'I dare' etc.

IE *dhedhēti*>IIr *dhadhāti*>gAv *dadā^{i}ti*, yAv *daδā^{i}ti*, cp Skt *dadhāti*, Gk *títhēsi*, Goth *gadēþs*.

95a. IIr *dhm*>gAv *dm*>yAv *nm* (as in **92a**).

95b. IIr *dhn*>OIr *dn* (or *nn* ?)>Av *n*

IE *bhudhno-*>IIr *bhudhna-*>OIr *budna-* or *bunna-*(?)> gAv *būnōi*, yAv *bunəm* cp Skt *budhna-*.

95c. gAv *db* (<IIr *dhv*, just like IIr *dv* **92b**)>yAv *δb*.

96. IE *dh*>IIr *dh*>OIr *d*> yAv δ medially, except after nasals and sibilants (**96a**) and sometimes otherwise **96b**).

IE *idhi*>IIr *idhi*>gAv *idī*, yAv *iδi*, cp OP *idiy*, Skt *ihi* (for *idhi*), Gk *ithí*.

IE *medhu* > IIr *madhu* > gAv *madu*, yAv *maδu*, cp Skt *madhu*, Gk *méthu*.

96a. gAv *d* (<IE *dh* like IE *d*)>yAv *d* after sibilants and nasals.

IE *mizdho-*>IIr *miždha-*>OIr *mižda-*>yAv *mižda-*, Skt *mīḍha-*, Gk *misthós* Goth *mizdō*, OCS *mĭzda* 'pay'.

IE *bhendhom*>IIr *bhandham*>yAv *bandəm*, cp Skt *bandham*, Goth *bindan*, Gk *pentherós*

96b. Sometimes otherwise also yAv shows *d* medially instead of δ.

yAv *vadarə* cp Skt *vadhaḥ*

96c. IE *dhw*>IIr *dhv*>OIr *dv* (and like OIr *dv*<IIr *dv* 94)> initially gAv *db/b*, yAv *δb/b* (for details vide **94**).

Medially OIr *dv* (<IIr *dhv* like IIr *dv*)>Av *δv/δw*.

IIr *r̥dhva-*>Av *ərəδwa-* cp Skt *ūrdhva-*<IIr *r̥̄dhva-* (cp also Av *viδvā̊* **94a**)

96d. IIr *dhuv-*>OIr *duv-*>Av *dv* normally (**94b**), but Av *duy-* before *-e* always and sometimes before after vowels.

gAv *-duyē* (as in *drīdraγžōduyē*, *mərəngəduyē* etc.)>IIr *-dhuvai* (ending) cp Skt-*dhve*/-*dhuve*.

97. IE *dhz*>IIr *dhz*>OIr *δz/zz*>Av *z.*

IE *mn̥dhzeus*>IIr *madhzauṣ̌*>OIr *mazzauš*>Av *mazaoš* (nom sg. 'attentive', cp Skt *māndhātā* 'name' (lit. 'attentive') Gk *mathē* 'lesson' (<IE *mn̥dhē*), cp Goth *mundōn.*

98. IE *dhzm*>IIr *dhzm*>OIr *δzm/zzm*>gAv *zm*, yAv *sm.*

IE *aidhzmom*>IIr *aidhzmam*>OIr *aizzmam*>gAv **aēzməm*>yAv *aēsməm*, cp Skt *edhaḥ*, *idhma–*, Gk *aîthos*, Lat *aedēs.*

99. IIr *dh* (rarely)>Av *θ.*

IIr *dhadhāna–*>Av *daθāna–* cp Skt *dadhāna.*

99a. IE *ddh*>IIr *dzdh*>GIr *zd*>Av *zd* (just like IE $d^z d$>Av *zd* **93c**).

IE *wr̥*d^z*dho–*>IIr *vr̥*d^z*dha–*>OIr *vr̥zda–*>Av *vərəzda-* 'powerful, grown up' cp Skt *vr̥ddha–.*

IE *dhe*d^z*dhi/de*d^z*dhi*>IIr *dha*d^z*dhi/da*d^z*dhi*>OIr *da*d^z*di*> yAv *dazdi* cp Skt *dhehi/dehi* (<IE √*dhē* & *dō*),

100. IE *p*>IIr *p*> OIr *p*> Av *p* before vowels and after sibilants (also before *t* **101**).

IE *pətēr*>IIr *pitā*>gAv **pitā* (cp gAv *piθrē*) yAv *pita*, cp OP *pitā*, Skt *pitā*, Gk *patḗr* Lat *pater.*

IE *upo* >IIr *upa*>gAv *upā* yAv *upa*, cp OP *upā*, Skt *upa*, Gk *hapó.*

IE *spek̂ta–*>IIr *spaṣ̌ta*>Av *spašta–* cp Skt *spaṣta–* Lat *spectus.*

101. IE/IIr *p*>Av *p* also before *t.* Although before *t* IE *k*>X, *t*>*s*, *p* did not become *f*; see **101a**).

IE *ptet*>IIr *ptat*>yAv *ptat̰* cp Skt *apaptat*, Gk *eptómen.*

IE *septm̥*>IIr *sapta*>yAv *hapta*, cp Skt *sapta*, Gk *heptá*, Lat *septem.*

101a. Reichelt assumes that IIr *pt*>OIr *ft*>Av *pt* (vide Reichett **44**). Brugmann also thinks it probable (vide

Brugmann : CGIGL vol I 473). But Avestan regularly presents *pt* for IIr *pt*. OP also does not help us with any positive evidence for IIr *pt* becoming OIr *ft*. The solitary evidence for IIr *pt*>OIr *ft*, cited by Reichelt is Av *tafta*–(beside regular *tapta*–). Reichelt considers *tafta*– to be regular. But the meaning of past participle is present in *tapta*–. *tafta*– means 'sick with fever', This may be a secondary development after *tafnu*–, *tafnah*– etc. Bartholomae also is of this opinion (vide Dictionary p. 631). It is also possible that *tafta*– might be having a different origin like *tap-sta*– (or *tap-sth-a*–)>**tafšta*–> *tafta*–.

Thus it is safer to assume that IIr *pt* > OIr *pt*>Av *pt*.

102. IIr *p*>OIr *f*>Av *f* before all others consonents, except *t*.

IE *pro*>IIr *pra*>Av *fră*, cp OP *fra*–, Skt *pra*, Gk *pro*, Lat *pro*, Goth *fra*–.

IE *n̥-swepnyo*–IIr *asvapnya*–>OIr *ahvafnya*–>yAv *aχ*^{v}*afnya*– cp Skt *asvapnya*– cp Lat *īnsomnia*, *insomnus*.

IE *ōpwent*–>IIr *āpvant*–>OIr *āfvant*–>Av *āfant*– 'watery' cp Skt *apa-vaut*–.

102a. IE *ptr* >IIr *ptr*>Av *f δr*, although IE/IIr *pt* remained *pt* in Av.

IE *ptros*>IIr *ptras*>Av *f*^{ə}*δrō* (85) cp Gk *patrós*<IE *pətros*.

103. IE *ph*>IIr *ph*>OIr *f*>Av *f* (except after sibilants, & nasals).

IE *k̂opho*–>IIr *šapha*–> Av *safa*–, cp Skt *śapha*– 'hoof' cp also OE *hōf*, ON *hōfr*<Gmc *χōfoz*<IE *k̂ōphos*.

IIr *kapha*–> Av *kafa*– 'foam', Skt *kapha*– 'mucus'.

104. IE *ph*>IIr *ph*>OIr *p*>Av *p* after sibilants and nasals.

IE *sphr̥ret* >IIr *sphr̥rat*>Av *sparat̰* cp Skt (*a*)*sphurat*.

104a. No example of *mph*>Av *mp* can be cited.

105 IE *b*>IIr *b*>OIr *b*>gAv *b*>yAv *b*/*w*.

IE/IIr *b*> OIr *b* always, because OIr *wž*<*bž* (which has become gAv/yAv *wž*) is always traceable to IE/IIr *bhz* (vide **56(e)**).

IE/IIr *bh*>OIr *b* and had the same treatment with OIr *b*< IE/IIr *b* in all other cases (i.e. except before *z*).

IE *b* was a rare phoneme. OIr *b* therefore mostly represents IE *bh* (**106**).

The surest example of IE *b* in Av, is found in *–bd–* (weak grade of *pad–*) as in *fra-bd–a*, *upa-bd-i* etc, cp Skt *upa-bd-a*, Gk *epí-bd-ai* etc. <IIr *-bd-* <IE *-bd-* (weak grade of IE *ped-*).

106. IE *bh*>IIr *bh*>OIr *b*>gAv *b*>yAv *b*/*w*.

IE/IIr *bh*>OIr *b* and fell together with OIr *b* <IE/IIr b (**105**). *bh*>*w* in OIr (& Av) only when it was followed by *z*. (i.e. IE *bhz*>IIr *bhz* >OIr *bž*/*wž*>Av *wž*; vide **109**).

Initially IE/IIr *bh*>OIr *b*>gAv *b*>*y*Av *b*. (For medial treatment vide **107**).

IE *bhereti*>IIr *bharati*>OIr *barati*>gAv *bara^{i}tī*, yAv *bara^{i}ti*, cp OP *baratiy*, Skt *bharati*, Gk *phérei*, Lat *feret*, Goth *baíriþ*.

IE *bhrātēr*>IIr *bhrātā*>OIr *brātā*>gAv *brātā*, yAv *brātā*, cp OP *brātā*, Skt *bhrātā*, Gk *phrā̀tēr*, Lat *frāter*, Goth *brōþar*.

IE *bhāĝhu-*>IIr *bhāžhu–*> OIr *bāzu–*>yAv *bāzu–* 'arm' cp Skt *bāhu–* 'arm', Gk (Dor) *pâkhus*, (Att-Ion) *pêkhus* 'fore-leg' OHG *buog*, OIcel *bōgr* 'bow'.

107. IE *bh*>IIr *bh*>OIr *b*>gAv *b*> often yAv *w* (=spirantized *b* [*β*]) medially. This yAv *w* has normally became *v* in yAv (**108**).

After *z*, *ž* & *m* gAv *b* has been retained as yAv *b* even medially (**107a**). For IE/IIr *bhz*>OIr/Av *wž* see **109**.

Some examples of IE/IIr *bh*>gAv *b* but yAv *w* medially may be cited.

IE *obhi*>IIr *abhi*>OIr *abī*>gAv *a$_{i}$bī*>yAv *a^{i}wi* (beside yAv *aoi* **108**), cp OP *abiy*, Skt *abhi*, Lat *ab*.

IE *m̥bhro-*>IIr *abhra-*>OIr *abra-*>yAv *awra-* cp Skt *abhra-* (beside Skt *ambhas nabhas*, Gk *néphos*).

IE *g^{w}olbho-*>IIr *garbha-*>OIr *garba-*> yAv *gar'wa-*, cp Skt *garbha-*, cp Gk *a-delphós*, Goth *kalbō* etc.

IE *ghr̥bhnāti*>IIr *ghr̥bhnāti*>OIr *gr̥bnāti*>yAv *gərəwnā^{i}ti* cp Skt *gr̥bhṇāti*.

107a. gAv *b* remains yAv *b* medially after *z*, *ž* & *m* (i.e. sibilants & nasals).

yAv *uzba^{i}re*<*ud^{z}bharai*

yAv *vaγž^{i}byō*<IIr *vă̆g^{z}bhyas* (or IIr *vă̆gbhyas*>Av **vaγžbyō* to use of nom sg. *vaχš* as stem) cp Skt *vāgbhyaḥ*.

yAv *χumba-*<IIr *khumbha-* cp Skt *kumbha-*

107 b. Sometimes otherwise also *b* is retained medially in yAv in place of *w* (107) or *v* (108) due to influence of other forms or confusion of initial & medial treatments.

yAv *nərəbyō* cp gAv *nərəbyas-cā*, Skt *nr̥bhyaḥ*

yAv *a^{i}bi-* (beside *a^{i}wi-*, *a^{i}vi* etc.).

108. yAv *w*<gAv/OIr *b*<IIr/IE (*b*)/*bh* has often become yAv *v* and then this presents the same treatment with yAv *v*<IIr *v* <IE *w*.

yAv *apa-varāni*<yAv **apa-warāni* beside yAv *apa-barāni*<IIr *apa-bharāni* cp Skt *apa-bharāṇi*.

yAv *vaēm* 'both' <**uvaę̄m* <**uwaēm*<OIr *ubayam*<IIr *ubhayam*, cp Skt *ubhayam*.

yAv *uyē* (<**uve*<**uwe*) cp gAv *ubē* cp Skt *ubhe* (fem). <IIr *ubhai*

yAv *srvarəm*<**srŭ-varəm*<IIr *šrŭ-bharam* cp Skt *śr̥ṅga-bharam*.

yAv *aoi* (<**avi*)/*a*^{i}*vi* <(& beside) yAv *a*^{i}*wi*<(& beside) yAv *a*^{i}*bi* gAv *a*^{i}*bī*<IIr *abhī*, cp Skt *abhi*.

109. IE *bh*+*t*>dialectly *bdh* & *pt* and IE *bh*+*s*>dialectally *bhz* & *ps* (vide 56 e). Avestan however presents both types of treatments. IE *bh*+*t* is normally attested as *bd* (<IE *bdh*), but sometimes also as pt (<IE *pt*). IE *bh*+*s* is normally attested as *wž* (<IE *bhz*), but sometimes also as *fš* (<IE *ps*).

yAv *dərəwδa*–<IIr *dhṛ̥bdha*– <*dhṛ̥bh*+*ta*–.

yAv *dapta*–<IIr *dhapta*–<*dhabh*+*ta*–; cp Skt *dabdha*–<
IIr *dhabdha*–<*dhabh*+*ta*–.

yAv *diwža*– (as in *diwža*^{i}*dyāi*) <IIr *dhi(dh)bhza*–.

yAv *han-gərəfšāne*<IIr *ghṛ̥psa*–<IIr *ghṛ̥bh*+*sa*–.

109a. IE *bh*>rarely Av *f*.

Av *nāfa*– 'navel' cp Skt *nābhi*.

Av *jafra*– 'deep' (beside *ja*^{i}*wi*– 'deep')<IIr *jabhra*–, *jabhi*–, cp Skt *gabhīra*– 'deep'.

CHAPTER VIII

INDO-EUROPEAN NASALS IN AVESTAN

110. IE Nasals.

IE had five nasals : *n*, *m*, *n̂*, *ŋ*, *ŋ*^{w}

IE *n*>*n̂* before *k̂*, *k̂h*, *ĝ*, *ĝh*

>*ŋ* before *q*, *qh*, *g*, *gh*

>*ŋ*^{w} (written *ŋ* in reconstructions) before *q*^{w}, *q*^{w}*h*, *g*^{w}, *g*^{w}*h*.

110a. For the secondary nasals (*ŋ*, *ŋ́*) in Avestan (vide **112b.**

111. IE *ṅ*>IIr *n̂*>Av nasalization ˛. In other words IE/IIr *n̂* was lost in Av nasalizing the preceding vowel.

IE *en̂k̂*–>IIr *an̂š*–>Av *ąs*– (cp gAv *ąs-aš-nu-tā*) cp Skt *aṃś* (*ān-aṃś-a*) Gk *eŋk*– (*ḗn-eŋk-on*)

IE *an̂ĝhes*>IIr *an̂žhas*>Av *ązō* 'distress' cp Skt *aṃhas*, Lat *angor*.

112. IE *ŋ* (& *ŋ*^{w})>IIr *ŋ*>Av *ŋ*, cp Skt *ṅ*

IE *ĝ́heŋgho*–>IIr *žhaŋgha*–>Av *zaŋga*– 'heel bone', cp Skt *jaṅghā* 'leg', Goth *gagga* 'I go'.

112a. IE *ŋ* (& *ŋ*^{w})>IIr *ñ* before IIr palatals *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh* (57) >Av *n* cp Skt *ñ*

IE *peŋq*^{w}*e* (more appropriately IE *peŋ*^{w}*q*^{w}*e*)>IIr *pañca*>Av *panca*, cp Skt *pañca*, Gk *pénte*, Lat *quīnque*.

IE *leŋg*^{w}*heyeti*>IIr *rañjhayati*>Av *vənjaye*^{i}*ti*, 'he hastens' Skt *raṃhayati* 'he hastens', (beside Skt *laṅghayati* 'he crosses') cp Gk *elakhús* 'light'.

112b. Avestan developed *ŋ*, *ŋh*, & *ŋ́h* out of IE *s* (vide **138, 137 & 140 respectively**).

112c. Av *ŋ* is sometimes represented as *ng* in orthography.

113. IE *m*>IIr *m*>Av *m*

IE *mē*>IIr/OIr *mā*>Av *mā*, cp OP *mā*, Skt *mā* Gk *mē*.

IE *māter*–>IIr *mātar*– > Av *mātar*– (cp gAv *mātarō* Voc pl, yAv *mātarəm* acc sg.), cp Skt *mātaraḥ*, *mātaram*, cp Gk (Dor) *mā́tēr*, Lat *māter*.

IE *nōmn̥*>IIr *nāma*>Av *nąma*, cp OP *nāma*, Skt *nāma*, Lat *nāmen*, Gk *ónoma*.

114. IE *mr* (after a long vowel)>*nr* in Av and IE *mm* > Av *nm*.

Av *dvąnᵊra*– <IIr *dhvāmra*– , and

Av *dvąnman*<IIr *dhvām-man*–

Av *dunman* <IIr *dhum-man* cp Skt *dhūma*–, *dhvānta*– etc.

115. IE *n*>IIr *n*>Av *n*

IE *nōmn̥*>IIr *nāma*>Av *nąma*, cp OP *nāma*, Skt *nāma*, Lat *nōmen*, Gk *ónoma*.

IE *nēr*>IIr *nā*>Av *nā*, cp Skt *nā*, Gk *anḗr*.

IE *menes*>IIr *manas*>Av *mano*, cp Skt *manaḥ*, Gk *ménos*.

115a. Avestan often presents a special nasal symbol, (romanized by some as *n̲*, but romanized in this work as *n*) for *n* before *t*, *d*, *c*, & *j*, for *ŋ* before *k* & *g*, and for *m* before *p* & *b*. In this respect its role is comparable to Skt *ṃ* (anusvāra).

116. IIr nasals became mere nasalization in Avestan after vowels and before spirants. In other words IIr vowel+nasal >Av nasalized vowel before spirants (including IIr spirants and the newly developed Avestan spirants).

Av *mąθra*– 'saying' : Skt *mantra*–

Av *ąxnā* 'reins' : Skt *aṅkhayᵊti* 'he clings'.

Av *ązō* 'distress' : Skt *aṃhaḥ* 'distress'.

Av *dąhišta*– : Skt *daṃsiṣṭha*– (cp *daṃsa*– 'good deed')

Av *θrąfδa–* 'satisfied' : Skt **tr̥mptha–*, cp Skt *tr̨pta–* 'satisfied'.

Av *mərąždyāi* 'strip aH'< IIr *mr̨nždhyāi*.

116a. Final IIr *ām, ān*>Av *ą* written *ą, ąm, ąn*

Av *bară, barąn, barąm* '3 pl subjunctive' cp Skt *bharān* <IIr *bharānt* <IE *bherānt*.

Av *θwą, θwąm* cp OP *(uvām*, Skt *tvām*<IIr *tvām*< IE *twēm*.

116b. Avestan sometimes medially also presents *ą* for *ā* before nasal.

Av *dąma* beside *dāma* cp Skt *dhāma*<IIr *dhāma* <IE *dhēmn̥*.

116c. Nasalized *r̥* is represented in Av as *ərą*

IE/IIr *nr̥ns*> gAv *nərąš* cp yAv *nərəuš*, Skt *nr̥̄n*.

117. Loss of nasalization of the nasalized vowels in Avestan.

(a) Av *ą* <IIr *a*+nasal (as in Av *mąθra–* : Skt *mantra–*) is represented as gAv *ə̄* & yAv *a* (when a secondary nasal developed out of IIr *s* (i.e. when IIr *s*>Av *ŋh*) followed it.

gAv *sə̄nghānī* yAv *saŋhāni* <IIr *šansāni*, cp Skt *śaṃsāni* (subjunc 1st sg <IIr √*šans*<IE √*k̂ens*).

(b) Av *ą* <IIr *ā*+nasal (as in Av *frąš*<IIr *prāŋkṣ̌* cp Skt *prāṅ/prāk*) is also similarly represented as gAv *ə̄* (before *ŋh*<IIr *s*).

gAv *vīvə̄nghatū* (=*vīvə̄ŋhatū*)<IIr *vivānsatu* (3rd sg impv), cp Skt *vivāsatu*<IE *wiwn̥̄sotu*.

(c) *į ų* (short & long) are always represented as *ī̆ ū̆* in Av.

yAv *gairī̆š*<**garįš*<IIr *gr̥rins*, cp Skt *girīn*, Gk (Cret) *pólins*.

gAv *pourū̆š*<**parųš*<IIr *pr̥runs*, cp Skt *purūn*, Gk (Cret) *huiúns*.

CHAPTER IX

INDO-EUROPEAN SEMIVOWELS AND LIQUIDS IN AVESTAN

118. IE Semi-Vowels and liquids in Avestan

IE *y* & *w* became IIr *y* & *v*, and IE *r* & *l* merged in IIr and becams *r*. After heavy syllables IE *y*, *w*, *r*, *l* have become *iy*, *uw*, *r̥r*, *l̥l* in IE. IE *iy*, *uw*, *r̥r*, *l̥l* have become IIr *iy*, *uv*, *r̥r*. Avestan does not distinguish *iy* & *uv* from *y* & *v* orthographically. But from phonetic changes often the distinction *y* : *iy* and *v* : *uv* can be inferred (52). IIr *r̥r*>Av *ar*. But in one or two cases Avestan seems to have presented an orthographic *r* for **r̥r* as required by metre and rules of phonological changes (52).

119. IE *y*>IIr *y*> Av *y*

IE *yos*>IIr *yas*>gAv *yō*/*yas-cā*, yAv *yō*/*yas-ca*, cp OP *yadi*, Skt *yaḥ*, Gk *hós*.

IE *yaĝnos*>IIr *yažnas*> Av *yasnō*, cp Skt *yajñaḥ*, OP *yadataiy*, Gk *hágnos*.

IE *yū̆s*>IIr *yū̆ṣ*, *yū̆ẓam* (with *–am* extension)> gAv *yūš*, gAv & yAv *yūzəm*, cp Skt *yūyam*.

IE *ynwen–*>IIr *yuvan–*>yAv *yvan–*, y^{a}*van–*, Skt *yuvan–*, Lat *juven–*.

120. IE *eyem*/*eyom*> IIr *ayam*> gAv *ayə̄m*>(gAv &) yAv *aēm*. In other words IIr *aya* followed by *m* became in gAv *ayə* and in (late gAv &) yAv *aē*. IIr *aya* not followed by *–m* had a different treatment (**120a**).

IE *eyom* (demonstrative nom sg.)>IIr *ayam*>gAv *ayə̄m*, gAv & yAv *aēm*, cp Skt *ayam* cp Lat *ejā*<IE *eyā*.

IE *weyom* (Ist personal pron pl)>IIr *vayam*> gAv & yAv *vaēm*, cp OP *vayam* Skt, *vayam*, cp Goth *weis*, Ht *wes*.

IE *ubheyom* 'both'>IIr *ubhayam*> Av **uwayəm*> **uvayəm*>yAv *vaēm* 'both', cp Skt *ubhayam*.

120a. But in other cases IIr *aya* didnot become *aē* in Av. Thus—

IIr *ayan*>Av *ayən*.

Av *apatayən* <IIr *apatayant* cp Skt *apatayan*.

IIr *ayat*>Av *ayat̰*

Av *gə"rvayat̰*<**gərwayat̰* <IIr *ghr̥bhayat*.

Therefore treatment IIr *aya*– considerably differs in Av from the treatment of *ava* which more often becomes *ao* in Av, whereas *aya*– very often remains *aya/ayə*.

121. *ī̆y* is written as *y* in Avestan invariably *ī̆y* (instead of *y*) is to be detected on the basis of the contrasts in phonetic changes or on the basis of cognates.

IE *yaĝniyo*–>IIr *yažniya*–>Av *yasnya*– (=*yasniya*–), cp Skt *yajñiya*–.

IE *dwitīyo*–> IIr *dvitīya*–>gAv *d*^{a}*bitya*– (=*dbitīya*–), yAv *bitya*– (=*bitīya*–), cp Skt *dvitīya*– (IIr *tya*–> Av *θy* but IIr *tīy*–>Av *ty*–).

IE *tritīyo*–>IIr *tritīya*–>yAv *θritya*– (=*θritīya*–), cp OP *s,itīya*–, Skt *tr̥tīya*–, Lat *tertius*.

121a. IIr *ya*>Av *e* often in final syllables. In most cases IIr/OIr *ya*> finally Av *e* after *h*. Sometimes also medially *ya*>*e* after *h*.

IIr gen sg. –*sya*>OIr *hya*>gAv *hyā*/(rarely) *hē*, and yAv (regularly) *he*.

yAv *ahe*<IIr *asya* cp gAv *ahyā*, Skt *asya*.

yAv *yehe*<IIr *yasya* cp Skt *yasya*.

yAv *nase*<IIr *našya* <IE *nek̂ye* cp Skt *naśya* (Impv 2nd sg.) beside yAv *ma^{i}nya* <IIr *manya* < IE *menye*).

gAv *vahehyā*<OIr *vahyahyā*<IIr *vasyasyā* (inst sg. fem) cp Skt *vasyasyā*.

121b. IIr *yam* & *ī̆yam*>Av *ī̆m*.

IIr *yam*>Av *ïm*, Skt *yam*, Gk *hón*.

IIr *satyam*>Av *ha^{i}θīm*, Skt *satyam*.

IIr *madhyam*>Av *ma^{i}δim*, Skt *madhyam*, Lat *midium*, Gk *méson* <IE *medhyom*).

IIr *priyam*> Av *frīm*, Skt *priyam*.

IIr *tritīyam*>Av *θritīm*, OP **s^{r}itīyam*, Skt *tr̥tīyam*.

122. IE *w*>IIr *v*>OIr *v*>Av *v*.

IE *weĝheti*>IIr *važhati* >Av *vazaiti*, cp Skt *vahati*, Lat *vehit*.

IE *wl̥q^{w}os*>IIr *vr̥kas*>Av *vəhrkō*, cp Skt *vr̥kaḥ*, Lith *vil̃kas*, OCS *vilkŭ*, Goth *wulfs*.

IE *weyom*>IIr *vayam*>Av *vaēm*, cp OP *vayam*, Skt *vayam*, cp also Goth *weis* & Ht *wes*<IE *weis*.

122a. Av *v* aften represents IIr *uv*

Av *bvat̰* <OII *buvat*<IIr *bhuvat*, cp Skt *bhuvat*.

128. IE *k̂w*>IIr *šv*>Av *sp*

In other words *v*>*p* after *s* in Av.

IE *k̂wōn*>IIr *švā*>Av *spā*, cp Skt *śvā*, Gk *kúōn*.

IE *ek̂wos*>IIr *ašvas*>Av *aspō* cp Skt *aśvaḥ*, Lat *equus*.

123a. Av *sv* = *suv* e.g. gAv *isvā* (= *isuvā*) cp Skt *iśvaraḥ*.

124. IE *ĝw* & *ĝhw*>IIr *žv* & *žhv*>OIr *zv*>Av *zb*.

In other words *v*>*b* in Av after *z*.

IE *ĝhweyeti*>IIr *žhvayati*>OIr *zvayati*>Av *zbayati*, cp Skt *hvayati*

124a. Av *zv* = *zuv*

gAv *hizvąm* (= *hizuvām*) cp Skt *jihvām.*

125. IE *tw*>IIr *tv*>OIr *θv*>Av *θw* (Av *w* was a spirant, whereas IE *w*, IIr *v* and Av *v* were frictionless semi-vowels).

IE *twēm*>IIr *tvām*>OIr *θvām*> Av *θwąm*, cp OP *θuvām*, Skt *tvām*, cp also Gk *sé* <IE *twe.*

126. IE *dw* & *d̄hw*>IIr *dv* & *dhv*>OIr *dv.*

Initially OIr *dv*> gAv *db*/*b*, yAv *δb*/*b* (94 & 96c).

gAv *d^{a}bitya-*, yAv *bitya-* <IIr (= Skt) *dvitīya-*. Medially OIr *dv*>Av *δv*/*δw* (94a & 96c).

Av *ərəδva-*, *ərəδwa-*<IIr *r̥dhva-*

126a. IIr *duv* & *dhuv*>OIr *duv*>Av *dv* (94b 96c).

IIr *duvā*>Av *dva* (= *duva*) cp Skt (vd) *duvā.*

127. IE *pw*>IIr *pv*>OIr *fv*>Av *f*

IIr *āp-vantam*>OIr *āf-vantam*>Av *āfəntəm.* (102).

128. IE *sw*>IIr *sv*>OIr *hv*>Av χ^v initially and Av *ŋuh-*(< *ŋhv-*) & (rarely) χ^v medially.

IE *swo-*>IIr *sva-*>Av *χ^{v}a-*, cp OP (*h*)*uva-*, Skt *sva-.*

IE *swep-*>IIr *svap-*> OIr *hvap-*>Av *χ^{v}ap-*, cp Skt *svap-*, Lith *sāpnas*, Lat *somnus.*

IE *bhereswo*>IIr *bharasva*>OIr *barahva*>Av *baraŋuha*, cp Skt *bharasva*, OP *kušuvā* (= Skt *kr̥̥ṣva*).

IIr *sarasvatī*>OIr *harahvatī*>Av *haraχ^{v}a^{i}tī*, cp Skt *sarasvatī*, OP *hara*(χ)*uvatiš.*

128a. IIr *suv*>OIr *huv*>Av *hv.*

IE *suwo-* (beside *swo-* 128)>IIr *suva-*>OIr *huva-*>Av *hva-*, *h^{a}va-* (= *huva*), cp OP (*h*)*uva-* (= *sva* or *suva-*), Skt *sva-*/*suva-* .

129. OIr *v* is sometimes also found as *ŏ* in Av.

yAv *ōiθra* <OIr *viθra*<IIr *vitra*

OIr *uv* (beside being represented as *v*) is also represent as *uy* in Av.

gAv *mruyē* yAv *mruye*<OIr *mruvai*<IIr *mruvai*, cp Skt *bruve*.

OIr *av* is often found as *ao* in Av, specially before *y*.

yAv *kaoyąm*>OIr *kavyām* cp Skt (vd) *kavyām*.

yAv *haoya*–<OIr *havya* cp Skt *savya*–.

OIr *āv* is often represented as *āu* in Av, specially before *y*.

yAv *nāuyā* <OIr *nāvyā*, cp Skt *nāvyā*.

129a. IIr/OIr *ava*>Av *ao* very often (whereas IIr *aya*>Av *aē* mostly before –*m*).

IIr *avam* (Acc sg <pron *ava*–)>Av *aom* cp OP *avam*.

IIr *navama* (ordinal)>Av *naoma* cp Skt *navama*.

IIr *avara* (comparative <Pref *ava*–)>Av *aora*, cp Skt *avara*–.

IIr *abhavam*>Av *abaom*, cp Skt *abhavam*, OP *abavam*.

IIr *abhavant*>Av *abaon* cp Skt *abhavan*.

129b. Sometimes IIr *ava* is nlso found as *āu* in Av beside *ao* (**129a**), cp Av *nāuma* beside *naoma* <IIr *navama* (**129a**).

129c. IIr (*u*)*vam*>Av *vəm* normally, but further Av *vəm*>Av *ŭm* sometimes. (whereas IIr (*ĭ*)*yam*>Av *ĭm* more regularly).

IIr –*dhvam* (verbal ending)>gAv *dūm*, yAv *δvəm* cp Skt *dhvam*.

IIr *sarvam*>yAv *ha^{u}rum* cp Skt *sarvam*.

IIr *tuvam* 'thou'>gAv *tvə̄m*, yAv *tūm* cp Skt (vd) *tuvam*.

IIr *dhruvam*>yAv *drūm* cp Skt *dhruvam*.

130. IE *r* & *l*>IIr>OIr *r*>Av *r*.

IE *rēdheti*>IIr *rādhati*>OIr *rādati*>Av *rā`a^{i}ti* 'prepares, gives', cp Skt *rādhati* 'satisfies, prepares', Goth *garēdan* 'to provide'.

IE *peri*>IIr *pari*>Av *paⁱri*, cp OP *pariy*, Skt *pari*, Gk *péri*.

leuqes>IIr *raucas*>Av *raocō* 'splendour', cp Skt *rocate* 'shines', *rokaḥ* 'bright', *locana–* 'eye' etc., OP *rauca* 'day', Gk *leukós* 'white'.

IE *leiqʷeyeti*>IIr *raicayati*>Av *raēcayaⁱti*, cp Skt *recayati*, Gk *leípō*.

130a. *r* became spirantized in Avestan (written *hr*) before *k*, *p* & *t*, if the immediately preceding vowel was accented. IIr *ŕ̥*>Av *ə'r* and had a similar treatment. *hrp* & *hrk* remained in Av; but **hrt*>*š* (often written *š'*).

Av *mahrka–* 'death, destruction' <*márka-*

Av *kahrkāsa–* 'vulture' (lit. 'eating *kr̥ka*')<IIr *kárkāša-* cp Skt **kr̥kāśa–*, *kr̥kalāsa–*, Gk *kérkos.*

Av *vəhrka–* 'wolf'<* *və'rka–*<IIr *vŕ̥ka*–cp Skt *vŕ̥ka*- Gk *lúkos*, Goth *wulfs.*

Av *kəhrp–* 'body' <**kə'rp–* <IIr *kŕ̥p* cp Skt (vd) *kŕ̥p–* 'appearance'.

Av *stəhr-paēsah–* 'star-bedect' <**stə'r-paesah–* <IIr *stŕ̥-paišas–*, cp Skt *stŕ̥-peśas–*

Av *mašya–* 'mortal' <**mártya-* <IIr *mártya–* cp Skt Skt *mártya–*

Av *aməša–* 'immortal' <**amə'rta–*<IIr *amŕ̥ta–* cp Skt *amŕ̥ta–*

Otherwise IIr *rk*, *rp*, *rt* were retained in Av with *ə* anaptyxis.

Av *mərəta–* <**martá*<IIr *mr̥tá–* cp Skt *mr̥tá–*.

Av *kərəta*– <**kərtá*<IIr *krtá*– cp Skt *kr̥tá*–.
Av *starəta*– <**startá* <IIr *stṝtá*– cp Skt *stīrṇá*–.
Av *stərəta*–<**stərtá*<IIr *str̥tá*– cp Skt *str̥tá*--

130b. *vr*>**rv*>^{u}*rv*

Av ^{u}*rvāta*– <*vrāta*–.

131. IIr *r̥r* is sometimes written *r* in Av.
Av *ātrəm* <*IIr *ātr̥rəm* (cp IIr *tr*>Av *θr*).

131a. Prothetic *i* & *u* regularly appear before initial *ri* & *ru*/*rv* in Av. (48).

CHAPTER X

INDO-EUROPEAN SIBILANTS IN AVESTAN

132. Indo-European Sibilants

IE practically has only one sibilant phoneme *s*. IE *s* >IE *z* always before voiced sounds (e. g. IE *sdh*>*zdh*), and dialectally also after voiced sounds (e. g. *gh–s*>*gh–z*) dialectally and Iranian shows this dialectal treatment 56 (e). *θ* & *δ* are also reconstructed in IE instead of *s* & *z* respectively, when some of the cognates present dental stops instead of sibilants (146).

133. IE *s*>IIr *s*>OIr *s*>Av *s* before *n, p, t, k* and after *t*.

IE *sneigʷheti*>IIr *snaijhati*>yAv *snaēžaⁱti* cp Skt *sneha*- Goth *snáiw* 'snow'.

IE *spek̂*>IIr *spaš*>Av *spaś*– 'spy', & cp Skt *spaś*-, Lat *spex*.

IE *esti*>IIr *asti*>Av *asti*, cp Op *astiy*, Skt *asti*, Gk *estí*, Lat *est*.

IE *sqombho*– >IIr *skambha*–>Av *skəmba*–, cp Skt *skambha*– .

IE *matsyo*–>IIr *matsya*–>Av *masya*– cp Skt *matsya*- 'fish' (vide 83 for IIr *ts*>Av *s*).

133a. IE *s*>IIr *š*>OIr *š*>Av *s*, (but cp OP *š* and Skt *ś*) before IIr *c, ch*.

IE *qʷos-qʷid*>IIr *kaš-cid*>OIr *kašcid*>Av *kas-cit̰* cp OP *kaš-ciy*, Skt *kaścit*, cp also Gk *hóstis*<IE *yos-qʷis*.

IE *putlos-qʷe*>IIr *putraš-ca*>OIr *puθras-ca*, cp Skt *putraś-ca* cp also OP *aniyaš-ca* Gk *hós-te*.

133b. IE *sr*>IIr *sr*>OIr *hr* (or *sr* ?)>Av *hr* (?) or *sr* (?) initially. OP shows *r* which presupposes OIr *hr*. But Av in the rare examples attested shows *sr* or *θr* initially for IIr *sr*.

yAv *sraχti–*, *θraχti–* 'corner', cp Skt *srakti–*.

yAv *θraotō*, cp Skt *srotaḥ*, OP *rauta*.

133c. yAv often presents *θ* for Av *s* in several forms irrespective of its origin. cp yAv *iθəntō* for **isəntō* beside yAv *isa^{i}ti*, gAv *isəmnō*, Skt *icchati*<IE *is-sk̂e-ti*.

134. IE *s*>IIr *s*>OIr *š̆*>Av *š̆* after *f*

Av *drafša–* cp Skt *drapsa–* 'drop'.

Av *āfš̆* (<IIr *āps*>OIr *āfš̆*), cp Skt **āp*.

134a. Av *fs* <IE *p-sk̂(h)*.

Av *tafsat̰* <IE *tepsk̂et* cp Lat *tepesco*.

135. IE *s*>IIr *s*>OIr *h*>Av *h* before *ă/ĭ/ŭ/y/v* initially. (vide **135a** for further changes of Av *hy* & *hv*.)

IE *so/sos*>IIr *sa/sas*>Av *hū* (=*ha*), *hō*, *hə-ca*, cp Skt *sa/saḥ*, Gk *ho*.

IE *sm̥mo–*>IIr *sama–*>Av *hama–*, cp OP *hama–*, Skt *sama–*, Gk *hamós*, Goth sums.

IE *sā*>IIr *sā*>Av *hā*, cp Skt *sā*, Gk (Dor) *hā*/ (Att-Ion) *hē*, Goth *sō*.

IE *sthisth-e-ti*>IIr *s(th)išthati*>Av *hišta$_{i}$ti*, cp Skt *tiṣṭhati* Gk (Dor) *hístāmi*, (Att-Ion) *hístēmi*.

IE *s(i)yēt*>IIr *s(i)yāt*>gAv *h˙yāt̰*, yAv *hyāt̰*, cp Skt *syāt*, Lat *siēt* (**135a** for *h˙y* in gAv).

IE *su–*>IIr *su–*>Av *hu–*, cp Skt *su–* Ht *asu–* Gk *hu–*.

IE *swo–*> IIr *sva–*> gAv *hva–*(cp yAv *χ^{v}a–* **135a**), Skt *sva–*.

135a. In gAv *hy* is also found as *h˙y*, and in yAv *hva–* is always found *χ^{v}a–*; cp gAv *h˙yāt̰* (135) & yAv *χ^{v}a–* (135).

135b. IE *sm* >IIr *sm*>OIr *hm*>Av *m* initially (medially *hm* remains 139).

IE *smesi* >IIr *smasi*>Av *mahi* 'we are' cp Skt (vd) *smasi*.

136. Medially also OIr *h* (<IIr *s*<IE *s*) remains Av *h* after IIr *ă̄*, and before IIr *ĭ̄/ŭ̄*.

IE *bheresi*>IIr *bharasi*>gAv *barahī*, yAv *barahi*, cp Skt *bharasi*, OCS *bereši*, Goth *baíris*.

IE *yāsu*>IIr *yāsu*>yAv *yāhu* cp Skt *yāsu*.

137. OIr *h* (<IE/IIr *s*)> Av *ŋh* medially when followed and preceded by IIr *ă̄*.

IE *menesa*>IIr *manasā*>OIr *manahā*>Av *manaŋha*, cp Skt *manasā*.

IE *menesai*>IIr *manasai* >OIr *manahai*>Av *manaŋhē*, cp Skt *manase*.

IE *menesos*>IIr *manasas*>OIr *manahah*>Av *manaŋhō*, cp Skt *manasaḥ*, Gk *méneos*.

IE *yāsām*>IIr *yāsām*>OIr *yāhām* >Av *yåŋhąm* cp Skt *yāsām*.

138. OIr *h* (<IIr/IE *s*)>Av *ŋ* <*ŋh*; also written *ng*) before *r* medially. In other words IIr medial *sr*>OIr *hr*>Av *ŋr*. (IIr initial *sr* perhaps became Av *sr*/*θr*; vide **133a**).

IE *sm̥-ĝheslo–* >IIr *sažhasra–*>OIr *hazahra–*>Av *hazaŋra–*, cp Skt *sahasra–*, Gk *khéllioi* (<IE *ĝheslyo–*).

IE *qʷetesres*>IIr *catasras*>OIr *catahrah*>Av *cataŋrō*, cp Skt *catasraḥ*>, OIrish *cetheoira*, *cetheora*.

139. OIr *hm* (<IE/IIr *sm*)>Av *hm* medially. (Although initially OIr *hm* >Av *m*; Vide **135b**).

IE *esmi*>IIr *asmi* >OIr *ahmi*>gAv *ahmī*, yAv *ahmi*, cp OP *a(h)miy*, Skt *asmi*, Ht *esmi*.

IE *n̥smed*>IIr *asmad*>OIr *ahmat*>Av *ahmat̰*, cp Skt *asmat.*

140. OIr *hy* (<IE *sy*<IIr *sg*) > medially gAv *hy* (*h˙y*), gAv *ŋ́h.*

IE *wesyes*>IIr *vasyas*>OIr *vahyah*> gAv *vahyō*, yAv *vaŋ́hō*, cp Skt *vasyaḥ/vasīyaḥ.*

IE *osyo*> IIr *asya*> OIr *ahya*>gAv *ahyā/ah˙yā*, yAv *a*^{i}*ŋ́he* (beside *ahe* **140a**), cp Skt *asya.*

IE *yosyo*>IIr *yasya*> OIr *yahya*> gAv *yehyā*, yAv *yeŋ́he* (beside *yehe* **140a**) cp Skt *yasya.*

140a. yAv sometimes shows *h* instead of *ŋ́h*, when *ya>e.* Thus OIr *hya*> yAv *he* beside *ŋ́he.* cp yAv *ahe yehe* etc. (140).

140b. Reichelt (p. 55) considers *ŋ́h* to have become *ŋh* in some forms. As far as examined by me the forms can be explained from OIr *h* instead of OIr *hya.* Av *aēnaŋha*^{i}*ti* denom <noun *aēnah–* cp Skt *enasyati* <noun *enas–*. The Av form can be derived from IIr *ainasati* Skt **enasati*, cp Skt denom *pitarati* <*pitar-a-ti* (vide 304a). Similarly Av *ava*^{i}*ŋhāi* (vide 259), Av *avaŋhāi*<IIr *avasāi*, showing IE *sāi* instead of IE *syāi*, cp Goth *þizái*<IE *tesāi* beside Skt *tasyai.*

141. OIr *hv*>medially Av *ŋuh* (<**ŋhv*) and sometimes also χ^{v} (cp initial *hv*>χ^{v} 135a).

IIr *bheresva*>OIr *barahva*>Av *baraŋuha* cp Skt *bharasva.*

IIr *vasvī–*> OIr *vahvī–*> Av *vaŋuhī–* cp Skt *vasvī–*

IIr *sarasvatī–*> OIr *harahvatī*>Av *hara*χ^{v}*a*^{i}*tī–*, cp OP *hara(*χ*)uvati–*, Skt *sarasvatī-.*

IIr *namasvatī–*> OIr *namahvatī*>Av *nama*χ^{v}*a*^{i}*tī–*, cp Skt *namasvatī-* 'bowing' (fem).

141a. Reichelt considers *ŋuh* (<*ŋhv*) to have become *ŋh* in some forms (p. 55). As far as examined by me the forms can be explained from OIr *h* instead of OIr *hv*. Av *namaŋhā̆* (nom sg masc adj) (<*namah–* noun, cp Skt *namas–*) has been derived by Reichelt from OIr *namahvan–*. But this can be easily devived from OIr *namahan–* <IIr *namas-an*, taking it to be an *-an* stem, like Skt *rājan–*<IIr *rāžan*<IE *rēĝen* beside Skt *rāj–*<IIr *rāž–*<IE *rēĝ–*. Further cp Av *hazaŋhan* 'robber' (=Skt **sāhas-an/sāhas-in* 'courageous', 'robber')<*hazah–*'might, deed of voilence' (= Skt *sahas/sāhasam*)<IIr *sažhas*<IE *seĝhes*, cp Goth *sigis* (*–a* stem) 'victory'.

142. OIr final *–h* (<IE/IIr *–s*) was lost in Av after *a* & *ā*, changing OIr *a*>Av *ō* and OIr *ā*>Av *å* (normally), *ā* (sometimes).

IIr final *as–*>OIr *–ah*>Av *ō*.

IE *menes*>IIr *manas*>OIr *manah*>Av *manō*, cp Skt *manaḥ*, Gk *ménos*.

IE *leuqes*>IIr *raucas*>OIr *raucah*>Av *raocō*, cp OP *rauca*, Skt *rocaḥ*, Gk *leukós*.

OIr final *āh*>Av *å*, (sometimes) *ā̆*.

IE *n̥mr̥tōs*>IIr *amr̥tās*>OIr *amr̥tāh*>Av *aməšå* cp Skt *amr̥tāḥ*.

IE *eḱwōs*>IIr *ašvās*>OIr *asvāh*>Av *aspa*, cp Skt *aśvāḥ*.

143. IE *s*>IIr *ṣ̆*>Av *š* after IIr *ī̆*, *ū̆*, *r̥̄̆*, *r*, *k* or *ṣ̆* (<IE *ə/ī̆*, *ū̆*, *r̥̄̆*,/*l̥̄̆*, *r/l*, *q/qʷ* or *k̂*).

IE *s(th)isth-e-ti*> IIr *s(th)iṣthati*> Av *hištaⁱti*, cp Skt *tiṣṭhati*, OP *a(h)ištata*, cp Gk *hístāmi* (Dor), *hístēmi* (Att-Ion).

IE *susqo–*>IIr *suṣka–*> Av *huška–*, cp OP *(h)uška–*, Skt *śuṣka–* (with *ś* for *s* due to assimilation with a following *ṣ* in Skt).

IE *dhr̥sneumi*>IIr *dhr̥ṣnaumi*>Av *dərəšnaomi*, cp Skt *dhr̥ṣṇomi*, OP *adaršnauš*, cp Gk *tharsùs*.

IE *dhers*>IIr *dharṣ̌*>Av *daršiš*, cp Skt *dharṣaṇa*–.
IE *weq*^{w}*syō*>IIr *vakṣ̌yā*>gAv *vaχšyā* cp Skt *vakṣyāmi*,
IE *wek̂si*>IIr *vaṣ̌ṣ̌i* (<**vaš-ṣ̌i*)>Av *vaši* cp Skt *vakṣi*.

143a. It may be noted that Av shows š for IIr š-ṣ̌ (<IE *k̂s*) and χš for IIr *kṣ̌* (<IE *qs*/*q*^{w}*s*), whereas Skt shows *kṣ* for both.

143b. It may also be noted that IIr ṣ̌ (<IE *s* after ĭ̄/ŭ̄ etc. 143) remained š in Av even before *r*, as distinguished from Sanskrit where IE *s* remained *s* and didnot became *ṣ*. In other words IE *sr* (after ĭ̄/ŭ̄ etc.)>IIr *ṣ̌r*>Av *šr* but Skt *sr*.

IE *tisres*> IIr *tišras*>Av *tiš*^{a}*rō* but Skt *tisraḥ*.

143c. IIr *s*>Av š after *f*. IIr *drapsa*>Av *drafša*–.

143d. Avestan often shows apparently a prothetic χ before initial *s* followed by a consonant. After this χ also *s*>š in Av. e.g. Av χšmat̰<IIr *smat* cp Skt *smat*, <IE *smed* cp Ht *sumedats*. Av χšnā–<**snā*– <**snā*– <**znā*–<IIr *znā*–<IE *ĝnō*– 'know' cp Skt *jñā*– Gk *gnō*– etc. Av χšvaš<**švaš*< IE *swek̂s* cp Skt *ṣaṭ*, Gk *héks*, Lat *sex* etc.

144. IE *z*>IIr *z*>OIr *z*>Av *z*.

IE *(e)zdhi*> IIr *(a)zdhi*> Av *zdi*, cp Skt *edhi*, Ok *ísthi*.
IE *nezdistho*–>IIr *mazdiṣ̌tha*–>Av *nazdišta*–, cp Skt *nediṣṭha*–.
IE *ded*^{z}*dhi*, 'give' *dhed*^{z}*dhi* 'put'>IIr *dad*^{z}*dhi*, *dhaddhi*> OIr *dad*^{z}*di*>Av *dazdi* cp Skt *dehi*, *dhehi*.
IE *m̥zdhēs*>IIr *mazdhās*> OIr *mazdāh*> Av –*mazdå*, 'wise', OP *mazdā*, Skt *medhā* 'wisdom'.

145. IE *z*>IIr ẓ̌>OIr ž>OIr ž> Av ž after IIr ĭ̄, ŭ̄, r̥̆̄, *r*, *gh* or *žh* (<IE ĭ̄, ŭ̄, r̥̆̄, l̥̄, *r*/*l*, *gh*/*g*^{w}*h* or *ĝh*).

IE *mizdho*–>IIr *miẓ̌dha*–>OIr *mīžda*–>Av *mižda*–, cp Skt *mīḍha*–, Gk *misthós*, Goth *mizdō*.

IE *duz-weq*^{w}*es-*>IIr *duẓ̌-vacas-*> OIr *duž-vacah* > Av *duž-vacah-*, Skt *dur-vacas-* (<**duẓ-vacas-*).

IE *mr̥zdīqo-* (or *mr̥ĝdiqo-* 63)> IIr *mr̥ẓ̌dīka-*> OIr *mr̥ždīka-*>Av *mərəždīka-*, cp Skt *mr̥ḍīka-*.

IE *eughzo*>IIr *aughẓ̌a*>OIr *auγža*>gAv *aoγžā*.

IE *weĝhzet*> IIr *vaẓ̌hẓ̌at*>OIr *važžat* >Av (*uz-*)*važat̰*.

145a. IE *z*>IIr *z*> Av *ž* after IIr/IE *bh*.

Av *diwžąⁱδyāi* 'to injure' <IIr *dhibhzadhyāi* <**dhi*^{dh}*bhzadhyāi* cp Skt *dipasti*, *dhipsati* 'desires to deceive' cp Ht *debnutsi* 'belittles'.

146. IE *θ* and δ.

IE *θ* & δ are reconstructed as a convenient formula in place of IE *s* & *z* when some IE languages present dental stops instead of *s* & *z*. Avestan just like other IIr languages shows the developments, which donot need *θ* & δ and can easily be derived from IE *s* & *z*. These cases of IE *θ* & δ are always found in conjuncts where the first element is an IE guttural and the second element is *θ* or δ.

IE *k̂θitis*>IIr *ṣ̌ṣ̌itiṣ̌* (<**šṣ̌itiṣ̌*)>Av *šitiš*, cp Skt *kṣitiḥ*, Gk *ktísis*.

IE *tek̂θon*>IIr *taṣ̌ṣ̌an-*(<*tašṣ̌an-*)> Av *tašan-*, cp Skt *takṣan-*, Gk *téktōn*, Lat *texō*.

IE *r̥k̂θos*>IIr *r̥ṣ̌ṣ̌as* (<*r̥šṣ̌as*)> Av *arəšō* cp Skt *r̥kṣaḥ*, Gk *árktos*, Lat *ursus*.

IE *g*^{w}*hδer*>IIr *ghẓ̌ar* (beside *kṣ̌ar-*)> Av *γžārayeti* (beside Skt *kṣar-*), Gk *phtheírō*.

146a. Reconstruction of Laryngeals in pre-Indo-European.

The laryangeal theory is a recent addition to IE comparative Grammar. Accordingly there were four laryngeal sounds in pre-IE which were lost in the IE proto-speech with

impact upon several neighbouring sounds; e.g. changing *e, o* > *ē, ō, e*>*a, i, u, r̥, l̥, m̥, n̥*>*ī, ū, r̥̄, l̥̄, m̥̄, n̥̄, k, t, p*>*kh, th, ph,* etc. I have refuted all these elsewhere (Vide Laryngeal Controvarsy in Indian Linguistics Vol. 29, or New Lights on IE Comparative Grammar Ch. VI.)

Avestan does not need the reconstruction of the laryngeals for explanation of any of its phonoiogical or morphological problems, just like Sanskrit and other IE languages. Therefore reconstruction of Laryngeals have been systematically avoided in this work.

CHAPTER XI

AVESTAN CONSONANTS FROM THEIR INDO-IRANIAN AND INDO-EUROPEAN SOURCE

147. Av *k*.

<IIr *k*<IE *q*/*qʷ* (66).

Av *kərəta*– <IE *qr̥to*–

Av *kō* <IE *qʷos*

<IIr *kh* <IE*qh*/*qʷh* (71).

Av *skarəna*– <IE *sqʷhr̥̄na*–.

148. Av χ.

<IIr *kh*< IE *qh*/*qʷh* (70)

Av χ*umba*–<IE *qhumbho*–

<IIr *k* <IE *q*/*qʷ* (68).

Av χ*rūra*– <IE *qruro*–

Av *u*χ*ta*– <IE *uqʷto*–

<IIr *gh* <IE *gh*/*gʷh* (? cp *θ*<*dh*. *f*<*bh*)

149. Av *g*/*γ*.

<IIr *g*<IE *g*/*gʷ* (74).

Av *garō* <IE *grros*.

Av *gāuš* <IE *gʷōus*.

yAv *γnå*<IE *gʷnās*.

<IIr *gh*< IE *gh*/*gʷh* (77).

Av *gah*– <IE *ghos*,

Av *garəmō* <IE *gʷhormos*.

yAv –*γnō*–<IE *gʷhnos*.

150. Av *c*.

<IIr *c*<IE *q*/*qʷ* (67).

Av *panca* <IE *peŋqʷe*

<IIr *ch* <IE *qh*/*qʷh* (73).

Av *scand*– <IE *sqhend*–.

151. Av *j*.

<IIr *j* <IE *g*/*g*^{w} (75).

Av *jimat̰* <IE *g*^{w}*em*n̥*t*

<IIr *jh* <IE *gh*/*g*^{w}*h* (78).

Av *ja*^{i}*nti* <IE *g*^{w}*henti*.

152. Av *t*.

<IIr *t* <IE *t* (80).

Av *pata*^{i}*ti* <IE *peteti*

<IIr *th* <IE *th* (89, 90).

Av *stāna-* <IE *sthāna-* (89).

Av *pantå* <IIr *panthās* (90).

153. Av *θ*.

<IIr *th* <IE *th* (88).

Av *haptaϑa-* <IE *septm̥tho-*

<IIr *t* <IE *t* (80).

Av *θwąm* <IE *twēm*

<IIr *dh* <IE *dh* (99).

Av *daθāna-* <IIr *dhadhāna-*

<Av **s* (rarely) <IIr *s* <IE *s* (183a).

yAv *θraotō* <**sraotō* <IIr *srautas*

<Av **s* (rarely) <IIr *š̌* <IE *k̂* (58a).

yAv *θam-* <IE *k̂am-*.

154. Av *d*/*δ*

<IIr *d* <IE *d* (92, 93).

gAv *dasā*, yAv *dasa* <IE *dek̂m̥* (92).

gAv *mada-*, yAv *maδa-* <IE *mado-* (93).

<IIr *dh* <IE *dh* (95).

Av *daršiš* <IE *dhers-*.

155. Av *t̰*.

<IIr *t*/*d* <IE *t*/*d* (finally) (87).

Av *yat̰* <IE *yod*

<IIr *t*/*d* <IE *t*/*d* (non-finally in some conjuncts).

Av *at̰ka-* <IIr *atka-* (81).

Av *t̰biš-* <IIr *dviṣ̌-* (94).

156. Av *p*.

<IIr *p* <IE *p* (100).

yAv *pita* <IE *pətēr*

yAv *hapta* <IE *septm̥*

<IIr *ph* <IE *ph* (104).

Av *sparat̰* <IE *sphr̥ret*

<IIr *v* <IE *w*.

Av *spā* <IE *k̂wōn*.

157. Av *f*.

<IIr *ph* <IE *ph* (103).

Av *safa-* <IE *k̂opho-*

<IIr *p* <IE *p* (102).

Av *frā̆* <IE *pro-*

<IIr *pv* <IE *pw* (127).

Av *āfəntəm* <IIr *āpvantam*

<IIr *bh* <IE *bh* (109a).

Av *nāfa-* <IIr *nābha-*.

158. Av *b/w*.

<IIr *b* <IE *b* (105).

Av *frabda-* <IE *probdo-*

<IIr *bh* <IE *bh*.

Av *brātā* <IE *bhrātēr* (106).

yAv *gərəwnā*^{i}*ti* <IE *ghr̥bhnāti* (107).

<IIr *v* <IE *w*.

Av *zbayati* <IE *ĝhweyeti* (124).

gAv *d*^{a}*bitya-*, yAv *bitya-* <IE *dwitīyo-* (126).

Av *θwąm* <IIr *tvām* <IE *twēm* (125).

159. Av *n*.

<IIr *n* <IE *n* (115).

Av *nā* <IE *nēr*

<IIr *m* <IE *m* (**114**).

Av *dvąnᵃra* <IIr *dhvāmra–*

Av *đunman* <IIr *dhumman–*

IIr *ŋ* <IE *ŋ*(*ŋʷ*) (**112a**).

Av *panca* <IE *peŋqʷe*

<IIr *d/dh* <IE *d/dh* (+*n/m*)

yAv *nmāna–* cp gAv *dᵊmāna–* (**92a**).

Av *sinąm* <IIr *šše hidnām*

gAv *būnōi*, yAv *bunəm* <IIr *bhudhna–* (**95b**).

160. Av *ŋ*.

<IE *ŋ*(*ŋʷ*) (**112**).

Av *zaŋga–* <IE *ĝheŋgho–*

<IIr *s* <IE *s*.

Av *manaŋhō* <IE *menesos* (**137**).

Av *hazaŋra–* <IE *sm̥ĝheslo–* (**138**).

161. Av *ŋ*.

<IIr *s* <IE *s* (**140**).

yAv *vaŋhō* <IE *wesyes*.

162. Av *m*.

<IIr *m* <IE *m* (**113**).

Av *mā* <IE *mē*.

163. Av *y*.

<IIr *y* <IE *y* (**119**).

gAv *yə̄*, yAv *yō* <IE *yos*

<IIr *ĭy* <IE *ĭy* (**131**).

gAv *dᵃbitya–*, yAv *bitya–*<IE *dwitīyo–*

<IIr *v* <IE *w* (**129**).

gAv *mruyē*, yAv *mruyę* <IIr *mruvai*.

164. Av *v*.

<IIr *v* <IE *w* (**122**).

Av *vaēm* <IE *weyom*
<IIr *uv* <IE *uw* (**122a**).

Av *bvat̰* <IE *bhuwet*
<IIr *gv* <IE *gw/gʷw* (**76**).

yAv *hvova–* =gAv·*hvogva–*
< IIr *ghv* <IE *ghw/gʷhw* (**79**).

yAv *rəvī* <IE *legʷhwī–*
<IIr *bh* <IE *bh* (**108**).

Av *vaēm* <IIr *ubhayam.*

165. Av *r.*
< IIr *r* <IE *r/l* (**130**).

Av *paⁱri* <IE *peri*

Av *raocō* <IE *leuqes*
<IIr *r̥r* <IE *r̥r/l̥l* (**131**).

Av *ātrəm* <IIr *ātr̥ram.*

166. Av *s.*
<IIr *s* <IE *s* (**133**).

Av *asti* <IE *esti*
<IIr *š* <IE *s* (**133a**).

Av *kascit̰* <IIr *kaščid* <IE *qʷos-qʷid*
<IIr *š* <IE *k̂* (**58**).

Av *dasa* <IIr *daša* <IE *dek̂m̥*
<IIr *šh*<IE *k̂h* (**60**).

Av *siδ–*<IIr *šhid–* <IE *k̂hid–*
<IIr *šṣ̌(h)*<IE *sk̂(h)* (**60a**).

Av *jasat̰* <IE *gʷm̥sk̂et*
<IIr *ž* <IE *ĝ* (**62a, 62b**).

Av *yasna–*< IIr *yazna–*< IE *yaĝno–* (**62a**).

Av *rasman–*<IIr *ražman–*<IE *reĝman* (**62b**).
<IIr *žh* <IE *ĝh* (**65**).

Av *maēsman–*<IE *meiĝhmen–*
<IIr *t* (or for IIr *t*) <IE *t* (or for IE *t*) (**81a**).

Av *uskāt̰* <IE *ut-qʷōd.*

167. Av š (also written ṣ̌).

<IIr ṣ̌ <IE *s* (**143**).

Av *huška-* <IIr *suška-* <IE *susqo-*

<IIr *s* <IE *s* (**134**).

Av *āfš* <IIr *āps*

168. Av š (also written š').

<IIr *rt* <IE *rt*/*lt* (**86**).

Av *mašya-* <IE *mórtyo-*

169. Av *z*.

<IIr *z* <IE *z* (**144**).

Av *zdi* <IE *zdhi*

<IIr *ž* <IE *ĝ* (**61**).

Av *yaza^{i}ti* <IE *yaĝeti*

<IIr *žh* <IE *ĝh* (**64**).

Av *bāzuš* <IIr *bhāžhuṣ̌* < IE *bhāĝhus*.

170. Av *ž*.

<IIr *ẓ̌* <IE *z* (**145**).

Av *mižda-* <IIr *miẓ̌dha-* < IE *mizdho-*

<IIr *ž*, *žh* <IE *ĝ*, *ĝh* (**63**).

Av *uždra-* <IE *uĝdhro-* < IE *uĝh* + *tro-*

171. Av *h*.

<IIr *s* <IE *s* (**135**).

172. Av *h'*.

<IIr *s* <IE *s* (**140**).

gAv *ah'yā* <IE *osyo*.

173. Av χ^v.

<IIr *sv* <IE *sw*.

Av *χ^{v}a-* < IE *swo-* (**135a**).

Av *haraχ^{v}a^{i}tī* <IIr *sarasvatī* (**141**).

CHAPTER XII

MORPHOLOGY — CASE–ENDINGS

174. Introuductory Remarks.

Avestan inherited the IE gender system, by retaining the three genders, Masculine, Feminine and Neuter. The three IE numbers Singular, Dual and Plural were also inherited in Avestan. The IE eight cases are also retained in Avestan. They are : Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive, Locative and Vocative.

Avestan however shows the following morphological peculiarities :—

1. Av distinguishes gen dual and loc dual, which show identical forms in all others; e.g. Av gen *aspayå*, loc *aspayo* cp Skt gen-loc *aśvayoḥ*.

2. Abl sg. *-at̰* of *a-* stems is extended to other stems in Av ; e.g. Av *Xraθwat̰*, *sūnat̰*, cp Skt *kratvaḥ*, *sūnoḥ* (abl-gen in Skt).

3. The IIr double affixation of nom pl affix with *a-* stems was inherited in Av ; e.g. *aspåŋho* cp Skt (vd) *aśvāsaḥ*.

4. The *a*–stems show *i*–extension even in inst-dat-abl dual, which is not paralleled in Skt; e.g. Av *aspaēⁱbya*, cp Skt *āśvabhyām*.

175. History of Avestan Nominal case-endings.

A. SINGULAR ENDINGS.

176. Nominative Singular Masculine and Feminine.

(a) Nil.

(i) with feminine secondary -*ā*/-*ī* stems.

IE *ek̂wā*>IIr *ašvā*>gAv *aspā*, yAv *aspa*, cp Skt *aśvā*, Lat *equa*.

IE *weswī*> IIr *vasvī* > gAv *vaŋuhī*, yAv *vaŋuhi* cp Skt *vasvī* cp also Gk *pótnia* (<IE *potniyə* = Skt *patnī*).

(ii) With masculine-feminine–*n*/–*r*/–*s* stems :

IE *k̂wōn*>IIr *švā*> gAv *spā*, cp Skt *śvā*, Gk *kúōn* (<IE *k̂uwōn*).

IE *pətēr*>IIr *pitā*>gAv *ptā*, *p*^{a}*tā*, gAv *pita*, cp OP *pitā*, Skt *pitā*, Gk *patḗr*.

IE *dusmenēs*> IIr *duẓ̌manās*> gAv *dužmanå*, yAv *dušmanå*, cp Skt *durmanāḥ*, Gk *dusmenḗs*.

(b) –*s*

(i) With all masculine and feminine vowel stems, excepting the feminine secondary –*ā*/–*ī* stems (vide a–i above) :

IE *ek̂wos*> IIr *ašpas*> Av *aspō*, Skt *aśvaḥ*, Gk *híppos*, Lat *equus*.

IE *potis*> IIr *potiṣ̌*> Av *pa*^{i}*tiš*, Skt *patiḥ*, Gk *pósis*.

IE *g*^{w}*ōus*> IIr *gāuṣ̌*> Av *gāuš*, Skt *gauḥ*, Gk *boûs*.

(ii) With all masculine–feminine plosive stems:

IE *wōq*^{w}*s*> IIr *vākṣ̌* > Av *vāxš*, Skt *vāk* (**vākṣ*) Gk *ṓps*, Lat *vōx*.

IE *sonts*> IIr *sants*> Av *hąs* (<**han*^{t}*s*) cp Skt *san*, Gk *ṓn*.

IE *bhr̥ts*> IIr *bhr̥ts*> Av *barəs* (<**bərəts*), cp Skt *bhr̥t*.

(ii–*α*) Avestan seems to have extended the ending–*s* to –*r* stems in one case; viz. *ātarš*, but in fact *ātarš* comes under (**b–i**) above, as it is to be derived from IIr *ātr̥̄̊š̌*; cp Skt *pūr* <IIr *pr̥̄̊ṣ̌* <IE *pl̥̄̊–s.*

177. Vocative singular Masculine–Feminine.

Voc sg had nil ending in IE. The bare stem (sometimes differing from the nom sg., only in ablaut) was used as voc sg. The *-ā* stems, however, regularly show *–ai* in voc in IIr (e.g. IIr *ašvai*, cp Skt *aśve*, Av *daēne* etc.) beside the rare voc in *–a* (cp Skt *amba*). This *–i* in *–ai* may be a particle.

178. Accusative Singular Masculine–Feminine.

The IE ending was *–m* after vowels and *–m̥* after consonants, preceded by light syllables and *-m̥m* after consonants preceded by heavy syllables. IIr generalized *am*(<IE *m̥m*) for **a* (<IE *m̥*) perhaps because *a* was too indistinct as a suffix for accusative sg :

IE *eḱwom*>IIr *ašvam*>Av *espəm*, Skt *aśvam*, Gk *híppon*, Lat *equum*.

IE *ogʷhim*> IIr *ajhim*> Av *ažīm* (<*ažim* 136 ,, Skt *ahim*, Gk·*óphin*.

IE *ḱ̂wōn–m̥m*> IIr *švānam*> Av *spānəm*, Skt *śvānam*, cp Gk *kúna* (<IE *ḱ̂un–m̥*).

IE *pōd–m̥m*> IIr *pādam*> Av *pāδəm*, Skt *pādam*, cp Gk *póda* Lat *pedem*.

179. Nom–Acc–Voc Singular Neuter.

(**a**) *–m* with *–o* stems.

IE *qsetrom*> IIr *kšatram*> *χšatrəm*, OP *χšas* ...., Skt *kṣatram* 'lordship', cp Gk *zugón*, Lat *iugum*.

(**b**) Nil with all other stems :

IE *menos*> IIr *manas*> Av *manō*, Skt *manaḥ*, Gk *ménos*.

IE *meĝhn̥t*> IIr *mažhat*> Av *mazat̰*, Skt *mahat*.

IE *medhu*> IIr *madhu*> Av *maˤu*, Skt *madhu*, Gk *méthu*, OCS *medŭ*.

180. Instrumental Singular.

The IE ending was *-a*, which was contracted with the stem vowels of IE *-o* & *-ā* stems and resulted in *ō* & *ā*, which become IIr *ā*, and this *ā* was extended to all stems. (Assumption of IIr *ā* here is mainly on the basis of Skt, since gAv final *-ā* & yAv final *-a* may come either from IIr *a* or *ā*).

IE *yaĝnō*> IIr *yažnā*> Av *yasna*, Skt *yajñā* cp Lith *vilkù*.

IE *ek̂wā*> IIr *ašvā*, (extended) *ašvayā*> Av *aspā*, *aspayā* (cp gAv *daēnā*, *daēnayā*), Skt *aśvā*, *aśvayā*, cp Gk (Dor) *kruphâ*.

IE *ĝhr̥da*>IIr *žhr̥dā*>Av *zərə`a*, Skt *hr̥dā*.

180a. Skt shows several other endings, which are innovations by meta-analysis (*-nā* in *agninā*, *inǎ* in *vr̥keṇā*) which are unparalleled in Av.

180b. IE *-bhi*/*-mi* endings are attested in some languages in Inst sg (Gk *théophi*, OCS *vlŭkomĭ*). These are not attested in sg in Av (nor in any other IIr language).

181. Dative Singular : IE *-ai*

IE *ek̂wo*+*ai*>IE *ek̂wōi*>IIr *ašvāi*>Av *aspāi*, Gk *híppōi* cp Skt *aśvāya* (with particle *-a*).

IE *ek̂wā*+*ai*>IE *ek̂wāi*>IIr *ašvāi*, (extended) *ašvāyāi*> Av *aspayāi* (cp *daēnayāi*), Skt *aśvāyai*, cp Gk *khṓrāi*.

IE *kun-ai*>IIr *šunai*>Av *sūne*, Skt *śune*, cp Gk *ídmenai* (Inf).

182. Ablative Singular

IE had *-ed*/*-od* as abl sg ending for *-o* stems only. With other stems the endings of abl and gen were identical in sg (viz. *-es*/*-os*/*-s*). Avestan extended the ending *-ed*/*-od* (>IIr *-ad*>Av *-at̰*) to all stems (**182a**).

7

IE *wl̥qʷōd*>IIr *vr̥kād*>Av *vəhrkāt̰*, Skt *vr̥kāt*, Lat *lupō(d)*.

IE *mertyōd*>IIr *martyād*>Av *mašʹyāat̰*, Skt *martyāt* (cp vd *purastāt* read as *purastāat* or *purastaāt*).

182a. IE had *–es/–os/–s* with all other stems in abl sg, but Avestan extended *–at̰* to all stems. Italic also shows a similar extension.

IE *k̂unos*>IIr *šunas*> but Av *sūnat̰*, cp Skt *śunaḥ*, Gk *kunós*.

IE *gʷr̥reis*>IIr *gr̥raiṣ̌*> but Av *garōit̰*, cp Skt *gireḥ*.

IE *qrateus*>IIr *kratauš̥*> but Av *χrataot̰*, cp Skt *kratoḥ*.

182b. Sometimes *–ā* is added to abl sg in Av e.g. *χša^rāδa* <IIr *kṣatrād-ā*.

183. Genitive Singular

(a) IE *–syo(/–so)* for *–o* stems

IE *ek̂wo-syo*>IIr *ašvasya*>gAv *aspahyā*, yAv *aspahe*, Skt *aśvasya*, Gk *híppoio*, (cp Goth *wulfis* <IE *wl̥qʷeso*).

(b) IE *–es/–os/–s* for all other stems.

In IE this ending was used for abl sg as well. But in Av abl sg is always distinct by the ending *at̰* extended from *–a* stems (182a).

IE *gʷr̥rei-s*>IIr *gr̥raiṣ̌*>Av *garōiš*, Skt *gireḥ*, cp Gk *póleis*.

IE *qrateu–s*>IIr *kratauš̥*>gAv *χratə̄uš*, Skt *kratoḥ*, cp Gk *pḗkheos*.

IE *qratw-os*> IIr *kratvas* > yAv *χraθwō*, Skt (vd) *kratvaḥ*.

IE *k̂un-os* >IIr *šunas*>Av *sūno*, Skt *śunaḥ*, Gk *kunós*.

184. Locative Singular : IE *i* or nil

IE *i* was the loc sg ending for all stems. Besides nil is also attested as an optinoal ending with all stems excepting the *-o* stems.

(**a**) IE *-i*

IE *ek̂wo-*>IIr *ašvai*>Av *aspe*, *aspaē-(ca)*, Skt *aśve*, Gk (dat) *híppoi*

IE *wik̂-i* >IIr *viši*>Av *visi*, Skt *viśi*, cp Gk *phúlaki* 'watchman'.

IE *menes-i*>IIr *manasi*> Av *manahi*, Skt *manasi*, Gk *ménei*.

(**a-i**) Av shows loc sg. *gaēˀe* <*gaēˀā-*, with shortening of stem vowel *ā*>*a*+ending *-i*. Normal IIr form of *ā* stem represented by Av *grīvaya* = Skt *grīvāyām*.

(**b**) IE nil

IE *wesēu*>IIr *vasāu*>gAv & yAv *vaŋhāu*, Skt *vasau*.

IE *g*^{w}*r̥rēi* >IIr *gr̥rē(i)*>Av *gara*, cp Skt (vd) *agnā*.

IE *eyēn*>IIr *ayān*>Av *ayąn* cp Skt *udan* (strong grade), Gk *dómen*, *dómēn*.

(**b-i**) Skt regularly shows long grade of *-i*/*-u* stems with nil ending and strong with *-i* ending (cp Skt *viṣṇau* : *viṣṇav·i*), but Av has no such restriction of gradation (cp Av *vīδatō*/*vaŋhāu* both with nil ending).

Av mostly shows long grade of *-n* stems with nil ending, whereas Skt normally shows strong grade here, and Gk has no such restriction (cp Av *ayąn* : Skt *udan* : Gk *dómen*/*dómēn*).

(**c**) The *u* stems have influenced *i* stems in loc sg in IIr. Thus Av *garo* (strong grade), Skt *girau* (long grade) <IIr *gr̥rāu* for and beside IIr *gr̥rāī* (<IE *g*^{w}*r̥rēi*) cp Av *gara* Skt *agnā*.

(**d**) IIr shows a loc sg ending *-ām* (originally a particle ?) which is quite regular in Skt with fem vowel stems. But in Avestan this is attested only with fem *i* stems. e.g.

IIr *subhṛ̥ty-ām*>Av *hubərᵊtąm* (*ąm* for *yąm* due contamination of loc sg. forms like *vidātā* with *ām*), Skt *subhṛ̥tyām*, beside IIr *subhṛ̥tāu* (cp Skt *subhṛtau*) and IIr *subhṛ̥tāi* (cp Av *vidātā*).

(d-i) Av –*ā* as *grīvaya* (=Skt *grivāyām*) etc. may be related with this –*ām*; but more probably this is same as –*ā* found with various stems in loc sg. (e.g. *vīsy-a*, *kəʰrpy-a*) and pl (*vəʰrkaēšv-a*).

B. DUAL ENDINGS

185. Nominative-Accusative-Vocative dual Masculine Feminine

(**a**) IE –*ou* for –*o* stems

The contracted form was IE *ōu*/*ō*> IIr *āu*/*ā*> Av *āu*/*ā* (yAv *å*/*a*), also *ə̄*(<*ā*), & *ō*(<*ə̄* or<*au* a shortened form of *ōu*).

IE *ĝhestō(u)*>IIr *žhastā(u)*>Av *zasta*, *zastə̄*, *zastō*, cp gAv *spādā*, yAv *arᵊθnå*, cp Skt *hastau*, (vd) *hastā*, Gk *lúkō*.

(**b**) IE –*i* for –*ā* stems (with shortening of stem vowel) :

IE *ek̂wai* (<*ek̂wā*–)>IIr *ašvai*>Av *aspe* cp Av *urvaⁱre*, Skt *aśve*, cp Gk *khôrai* (pl<dl).

(**c**) IE -*e* for consonantal stems.

This was replaced in Skt by –*au* extended from –*a* stems; Av shows gAv *ā*, yAv *a*, which may come from IE *e* or IE *ō*(*u*). Hence whether IE–*e* ending was retained in Av is uncertain and consequently whether IE –*e* was retained in IIr is also uncertain.

IE *ner-e*>IIr *nara* (or *narāu*)>Av *nara*, cp Skt *narau*, (vd) *narā*, Gk *anére*, *ándre*.

IE *k̂wōn-e*>IIr *švāna* (or *švānāu*)>Av *spāna* cp Skt *śvānau*. (vd) *śvānā*, Gk *kúne*.

(d) *ī* & *ū* respectively for *i* & *u* stems (including stem vowel).

IE *ogʷhī*>IIr *ajhī*>Av *aži*, Skt *ahī*, cp Lith *naktì*, OCS *nošti*, but Gk *óphee* (after cons stems).

IE *bhāĝhū*>IIr *bhāžhū*>Av *bāzu*, Skt *bāhū*, cp Lith *sūnu*, OCS *syny*, but Gk *pḗkhee* (after cons stems).

186. Nominative–Accusative–Vocative dl Neuter : IE *ī*

IE *wesw-ī*>IIr *vasvī*>yAv *vaŋuhi* (<**vaŋhvī*), Skt *vasvī* (cp RV *urvī*), *vasunī* (extended after -*n* stems).

IE *oqʷəi*+*ī*>IE *oqʷəī*>IIr *akṣī*>Av *aši* (for **aχši* or <IE *oǩsī*/*oǩθi* ?), Skt *akṣī*, *akṣiṇi* (after-*n*-stems), OCS *oči* (<IE *oqʷī*).

IE *ǩm̥to-i*>IE *km̥toi*>Av *saⁱte*, Skt *śate*.

187. Instrumental–Dative–Ablative Dual

The IE ending was most probably -*bhyōm*, reconstructed on IIr evidence, chiefly. IE -*bhyōm*>IIr -*bhyām* (cp Skt -*bhyām*)> Av -*byąm* & -*byā* (-*byā*> yAv -*bya*, -*we*, *ve*). Av *byąm* is attested only in *brvat̰byąm*. Otherwise *byā* is quite regular in Av.

gAv *ǝšibyā*, cp Skt *akṣibhyām*.

yAv *dōiθrābya* cp Skt *netrābhyām*.

yAv *pāδave* <**pāδawya*<**pādābyā* cp Skt *pādābhyām*.

188. Genitive and Locative Dual

All IE languages, except Avestan, show one common ending for genitive and locative dual, which was IE -*ou* or -*ous*; cp Lith *dvẽjaus* & *dvẽjau*, respectively from IE -*ous* & -*ou*; Skt *hastayoḥ* & Av *zastayō* respectively from IE -*ous* & -*ou*.

Avestan shows loc dual *ō* which is undoubtedly same as IE gen-loc dl -*ou*. Besides Avestan shows gen dl *å* <OIr/IIr *āu* <IE *ōu*, which is comparable to and perhaps extended frnm IE Non-Acc dl of -*o* stems cp Av gen dl *pasvå*<IIr *pašvāu*<IE *peǩw-ōu*.

188a. Avestan gen dl *å* has been derived by Reichelt etc. from IIr *ās* (vide Reichelt : 387). But the derivation from IIr *-āu* is preferable (vide Misra : New Lights on IE comparative Grammar; p. 96).

C. PLURAL ENDINGS

189. Nominative-Vocative Plural Masculine-Feminine : IE *es*

(**i**) IE *-es* was contracted with IE *-o* & *-ā* stems and thus *-o* stems had *-ōs* & *-ā* stems had *-ās*. Both IE *ōs* & *ās* have become IIr *ās* and Av *å*. Besides Av sometimes shows *ā* (cp gAv *ā*, yAv *a*), which may be an analogical development after dual, which also shows *å* (<IIr *āu*) & *ā* (<IIr *ā*).

IE *ek̂wo+es*>IE *ek̂wōs*>IIr *ašvās*>Av *aspa*, *aspå*, Skt *aśvāḥ*, cp Goth *wulfōs* (<IE *wl̥qʷōs*).

IE *ek̂wā+es*>IE *ek̂wās*>IIr *ašvās*> cp Av *daēnå*, *haēna*, Skt *aśvāḥ*, Goth *gibōs*.

(**ii**) IE *-o* & *-ā* stems show in IIr beside *ās* (as above) also another ending *-āsas*>Av *åŋhō*, Skt (vd) *āsaḥ*, by double-affixation (*ā̆*+*as*+*as*) :

IIr *ašvā̆*+*as*+*as*>IIr *ašvāsas*>Av *aspåŋhō*, Skt (vd) *aśvāsaḥ*

(**iii**) All other IE stems directly add IE *-es*>IIr-*as*> Av *-ō*

IE *dusmenes-es*>IIr *duẓ̌manasas*>Av *dušmanaŋhō*, Skt *durmanasaḥ*, Gk *dusmenées*.

IE *ner-es*>IIr *naras*>Av *narō*, Skt *naraḥ*, Gk *anéres*.

IE *gʷr̥rey-es*>IIr *gr̥rayas*>Av *garayō*, Skt *girayaḥ*, Gk *póleis*

IE *gʷōw-es*>IIr *gāvas*>Av *gāvō*, Skt *gāvaḥ*, Gk *bóes*.

190. Accusative Plural Masculine-Feminine.

The IE ending was *-n̥s* after consonants and *-ns* after vowels. IE *-n̥s*>IIr *as*>Av *ō*. IE *-ns*>IIr *-ns*; this occurred in IIr after ā̆, ī̆, ū̆, r̥. IIr *ā̆ns*> Av *ą̇s, ąng;* *ī̆ns* & *ū̆ns*>*ī̆š, ū̆š* (by loss of nasalization after *ī̆/ū̆*); *r̥ns*>*rąnš.*

IE *mortyons*>IIr *martyans*>Av *mašyąs-ca*, gAv *mašyəng*, cp Skt *martyān, martyāṃś-ca*, cp OP *martiyā*, cp Gk (Cretan) *lúkons.*

IE *gʷr̥rins*>IIr *gr̥rins*>gAv *gaⁱrīš-cā*, Skt *girīn, girīṃś–ca*, cp Goth *gastins*, cp Gk (Argive) *ówins.*

IE *n̥r̥ns*>IIr *dr̥ns*>gAv *nərąs*, (cp also yAv *nərāuš* anomalous), Skt *nr̥n.*

IE *pek̂w–n̥s*>IIr *pašvas*>yAv *pasvō*, cp Skt (vd) *paśvaḥ*, cp Gk *huîas.*

IE *wik̂–n̥s*>IIr *višas*>Av *visō* Skt *viśaḥ.*

190a. IE feminine *ā* stems show acc pl *–ās* in several dialects (beside *–āns*). IIr further, developed *īṣ̌, ūṣ̌* etc. for fem *ī̆ ū̆* stems as well.

IE *ek̂wās*>IIr *aṣ̌vās*> cp Av *gaēθå, daēnås–ca*, Skt *aśvāḥ*, Goth *gibōs.*

Similarly Av *ašīš*, Skt *matīḥ* etc. <IIr *–īṣ̌.*

190b. Av *īš, ūš* in Masculine *i, u* stems may be from IIr *ī̆ns, ū̆ns* by loss of nasalization as explained above (**190**); they may also have develoved due to influence of fem *ī̆/ū̆* stems (**190a**).

191. Nominative–Accusative–Vocative Plural Neuter

(**a**) For *–o* stems the ending in IE was *–ā.*

IE *yugā*>IIr *yugā*>Av **yugā* (cp gAv *akā*), Skt (vd) *yugā*, Lat *iuga*, Gk *zugá.*

(**b**) For all other stems the IE ending was *–ə.*

(**i**) For *–i/–u* stems the ending in IE was *ī/ū*, by contraction of *i–/–u+ə.*

IE *pl̥lu+ə*>IE *pl̥lū*>IIr *pr̥rū*>gAv *po^{u}rū*, cp yAv *vohu–ca*, Skt (vd) *purū, vasū.*

(ii) For consonantal stems IE *ə* is clear as ending which became IIr *i*> gAv *ī*, yAv *i*; besides Av mostly shows nil ending in neuter plural with the consonantal stems, which may be equally historical.

IE *nōmē̆nə/nōmē̆n/nōmn̥*>IIr *nāmāni/nāmān/nāma*> yAv *nąma*, gAv *dāmąn, sūx^{v}ənī*, Skt *nāmāni*, Lat *nomina.*

IE *r̥towō̆n(ə)/r̥toun(ə)/r̥town̥*>IIr *r̥tavā̆n(i)/r̥taun(i)/r̥tava*> yAv *ašaoni, ašava, karšvąn*, cp Skt *parvāṇi.*

IE *menē̆s(ə)*>IIr *monā̆s(i)*>gAv & yAv *manā̊*, Skt *manāṃsi*, Gk *ménea.*

192. Instrumental Plural

IE *–bhis* was the instrumental plural ending for all stems. IE *-o* stems show an alternative ending *–ois*, beside *–bhis* (vide **192a** & **192b** for innovations in Av).

IE *ped–bhis*>IIr *padbhiṣ*>gAv *pad^{ə}bīš*, Skt *padbhiḥ.*

IE *wesu–bhis*>IIr *vasubhiṣ*>yAv *vaŋuhīš* (<**voŋhuvīš* <**vaŋhuwīš* <**vaŋhubīš*), Skt *vasubhiḥ.*

IE *ĝhestōis*>IIr *žhastāiṣ*>gAv *zastāiš*, Skt *hastaiḥ*, cp Gk (dat) *lúkois.*

192a. Avestan shows some instrumental plural forms with an ending *–īš*, e.g. *ašaonīs*. Such innovations are due to meta-analysis of IIr forms like *vaŋuhīs* (192).

192b. Avestan –u stems show *–u–š* (e.g. *yātuš*) sometimes, which may be further formations after *–i–š* of *i–* stems (e.g. **gairiš*, not attested in instrumental).

193. Dative–Ablative Plural

IE *–bhyos* (besides *–bhos/–mos* etc. required for other IE languages) may be reconstructed for IIr *–bhyas.*

IE *pedbhyos*>IIr *padbhyas*>yAv *paδᵊbyas-ca*, Skt *padbhayaḥ*, cp Lat *pedibus* (<IE *pedbhos*).

IE *nr̥bhyos*>IIr *nr̥bhyas*>gAv *nər'byas-cā*, yAv *nər'byō*, Skt *nr̥bhyaḥ*, cp Lat *materibus* (<IE *mātr̥bhos*).

194. Genitive Plural

IE ending *-ōm*> IIr *-ām*. This is regularly used with the consonantal stems in IIr; but with vowel stems IIr shows a marked preference of *-nām*, which might owe its origin to meta-analysis of *-n* stems.

IE *k̂ŭnōm* > IIr *šŭnām*> Av *sūnąm*, Skt *śunām* Gk *kunôn*.

IE *nerōm*>IIr *narām*>Av *narąm*, Skt (vd) *narām* (beside *nr̥̄ṇām*), Gk *anérōn*.

IE *gʷr̥ryōm*>IIr *gr̥ryām*, (also) *gr̥rinām*>Av *gairinąm*, (beside) *hašąm-ca* (<IIr *sakhyām*), Skt *giriṇām*.

IE *ek̂wōm*>IIr *ašvām* (also) *ašvănām*>Av *aspanąm*, cp Av *mašyānąm*, *dūθəm* etc., Skt *aśvānām*, *devāñ-janma* (<*devām-janma*), Gk *lúkōn*.

195. Locative Plural

IE ending was *-su*. The *-o* stems extend the stem by *-i* (taken from pronouns). Av often adds a particle *ă̄* (= yAv *a*) <IIr *ā*<IE *ĕ̄/ŏ̄* after this ending.

IE *wesusu*>IIr *vasuṣ̌u*>Av *vaŋhušu*, Skt *vasuṣu*, cp OCS *synŭchŭ*, Lith *sūnůsu*.

IE *ek̂woisu*>IIr *asvaiṣ̌u*>Av *aspaēšu*, Skt *aśveṣu*, cp Gk *híppoisi*.

IE *urvarāsu*>IIr *urvarāsu*>Av *urvarāhu*, cp Av *gaēθāhva*, Skt *urvarāsu*.

CHAPTER XIII

DECLENSION OF VOWEL STEMS

196. Avestan *-a-* declension (<IE *-o-* declension) Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	(cp Av regular form)	Skt	OP	Gk
N.	*eḱwos*	*ašvas*	*aspō*		*aśvaḥ*	*pārsa*	*híppos*
V.	*eḱwe*	*ašva*	g. **aspā*	*ahurā*	*aśva*	**pārsā*	*híppe*
			y. **aspa*	*ahura*		*(marikā)*	
Ac.	*eḱwom*	*ašvam*	*aspəm*		*aśvam*	*pārsam*	*híppon*
Nt.	*qsetrom*	*kšatram*	*Xšaʿrəm*		*kṣatram*	*Xšasʿam*	*zúgon*
I.	*eḱwō*	*ašvā*	g. **aspā*	*zastā*	(vd)*yajñā*	*pārsā*	*pṓ*
			y. **aspa*	*zasta*			
D.	*eḱwōi*	*ašvāi*	**aspāi*	*ahurāi*	*aśvāya*		*híppōi*
Ab.	*eḱwōd*	*ašvād*	**aspāt̰*	*akāt̰, mašyāat̰*	*aśvāt*	*pārsā*	Lat. *lupōd*

Singular (contd)

	IE	IIr		Av	(cp Av regular form)	Skt	OP	Gk
G.	*eḱwosyo*	*aśvasya*	g.	**aspahyā*	*ahurahyā*	*aśvasya*	*pārsahyā*	*híppoio*
			y.	*aspahe*				
L.	*eḱwoi*	*aśvai*	g.	**aspōi*	*šyaoˆənōi*	*aśve*	*pārsaiy*	*híppoi*
			y.	**aspe*	*šyao´ne*			
				aspaē-ca	*zastaya*			
Dual								
N-Ac-V	*eḱwō(u)*	*aśvā(u)*	g.	*aspā*		(vd) *aśvā*	*gaušā*	*híppō*
			y.	*aspa*		*aśvau*		
			y.	**aspå*	*arəˆnå*			
Nt (N–Ac–V)	*qsetroi*	*kṣatrai*		*xšaϑre*	*miϑwaire*	*kṣatre*		
I–D–Ab	*eḱwōbhyōm*	*aśvābhyām*		**aspābya*	*dōiϑrābya*	*aśvābhyām*		
				aspaēibya			*dastaibiyā*	
G-L	*eḱwo–y–ŏu(s)*	*aśva–y–ău(ṣ)*	G.	*aspayå*	–	*aśvayoḥ*		
			L.	*aspayo*				

Plural

	IE	IIr	Av	(cp Av regular form)	Skt	OP	Gk
N–V	*ek̂wōs*	*ašvās*	*aspa,*aspå*	*aməšå*	*aśvāḥ*	*martiyā*	Goth *wulfōs*
		ašvās–as	*aspåŋhō*		(vd)*aśvāsaḥ*	*bagāha*	
Ac.	*ek̂wons*	*ašvans*	g. **aspəng*	*mašyəng*	*aśvān ɲ*	*daivā*	bet *lúkons*
			g. **aspą̨s–ca*	*mašyą̨s–cā*	*aśvāṃśca*		Gotk *wulfans*
			y. **aspą̨s–ca*	*mašyą̨s–ca*			
Nt (N–Ac–V)	*qsetrā*	*kṣatrā*	**xša͑rā̆*	g. *akā*	(vd)*kṣatrā*	*artā*	*zugá*
I.	*ek̂wōis*	*ašvāiṣ̌*	**aspāiš*	*zastāiš*	*aśvaiḥ*		Lith *vilkaĩ*
	ek̂woibhis	*ašvaibhiṣ̌*			(vd)*aśvebhiḥ*	*mādaibiš*	
D–Ab	*ek̂woibhyos*	*ašvaibhyas*	**aspaə̄ibyō*	*dā^aə̄ibyō*	*aśvebhyaḥ*		
G.	*ek̂wōm*	*ašvām*	g. **aspəm*	*dā͑əm*	(vd)*devām*		
		ašvānām	*aspanąm*	*mašyānąm*	*devānām*	*bagānām*	
L.	*ek̂woisu*	*ašvaiṣu*	y. *aspaēšu*	g. *mašyaēšū*	*aśveṣu*	*mādaišuvā*	OCS *vlŭcěchŭ*

197. Avestan -ā- declension <IE -ā- decleusion

Av -ā- declension contains mostly feminine derivative stems.

	IE	IIr	Av	(cp Av regular form)	Skt	OP	Gk
N.	*ek̂wā*	*ašvā*	g. *aspā*	*daēnā*	*aśvā*	*hainā*	*khṓrā*
			y. *aspa*	*urvara*			
V.	*ek̂wa*	*ašva*			*amba*		*nùmpha*
		ašvai	*aspe*	*daēne*	*aśve*		
Ac.	*ek̂wām*	*aśvām*	*aspąm*	*daēnąm*	*aśvām*	*tau(h)mām*	*khṓrān*
I.	*ek̂wā*	*ašvā*	g. *aspā*	*daēnā*	(vd) *aśvā*		
			y. *aspa*	*daēna*			
		ašvayā	g. *aspayā*	*daēnayā*			
			y. *aspaya*	*daēnaya*			
D.	*ek̂wāi*	*ašvāyāi*	g. *aspayāi*	*daēnayāi*	*aśvāyai*		*khṓrāi*
Ab-G	*ek̂wās*	*ašvāyās*	G. *aspayå*	*daēnayå*	*aśvāyāḥ*		*khṓrās*
			Ab. *aspayāt̰*	*daēnayāt̰* (182a)			
L.	*ek̂wāi*	*ašvāyā*	*aspayā*	*grivaya*	*aśvāyām*		*khṓrāi*

ā declension contd.

Dual

	IE	IIr	Av	cp Av regular form	Skt	Gk
N-V-Ac	*ek̂wai*	*ašvai*	*aspe*	*urvaire*	*aśve*	*khṓrai*
I-D-	*ek̂wābhyō(m)*		*aspūbya*			(pl)
Ab		*ašvābhyām*		*vąθwābya*	*aśvābhyām*	
G-L	*ek̂wu-y-ŏu(s)*		G.**aspayå*		*aśvayoḥ*	
		ašva-y-ău(ṣ̌)	L.**aspayo*			

Plural

	IE	IIr	Av	cp Av regular form	Skt	Gk
N–V	*ek̂wās*	*ašvās*	*aspå*	*daēnå*	*aśvāḥ*	Goth *gibōs*
Ac	*ek̂wās* *ek̂wans*	*ašvās*	*aspå*	*gaēθå*	*aśvāḥ*	Goth *gibōs* Gk (dlct) *khṓrans*
I.	*ek̂wābhis*	*ašvābhiṣ̌*	*aspūbiš*	*gaēθābiš*	*aśvābhiḥ*	
D-Ab	*ek̂wābhyos*	*ašvābhyas*	*aspābyo*	*gaēθābyo*	*aśvābhyaḥ*	
G.	*ek̂wām*	*ašvānām*	*aspanąm*	*gaēθanąm*	*aśvānām*	
L.	*ek̂wāsu*	*asvāsu*	g. *aspāhū* y. *aspāhva*	*gaēθāhū* *gaēθāhva*	*aśvāsu*	

197a. Avestan radical –*ā*–stems

These were originally distinict from the derivative fem *ā* stems. Av shows a few traces in sg only.

	IE (& IIr)	Av	Skt
N.	*sthās*	*–štå*	*–sthāḥ*
Ac.	*sthām*	*–štąm*	*sthām*
D.	*sthāi*	*–štāi*	*sthai*
G.	*sthās*	*–štå*	*sthāḥ*
L.	*sthi*	*–šti*	*sthi*

198. Avestan *–i–*decleusiou <IE *–i–* declension

Avestan shows several types of *–i–* declension like Sanskrit. The most normal type is illustrated by Av *aži–* 'snake' (cp Skt *ahi–* Gk *óphi–* <IE *ogʷhi–*). Special types of *–i–* stems are illustrated in **199.**

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	OP	Gk
N.	*ogʷhis*	*ajhiš*	*ažiš*	*ahiḥ*	*fravr̥tiš*	*óphis*
Ac.	*ogʷhim*	*ajhim*	*ažīm*	*ahim*	*fravr̥tim*	*óphin*
V.	*ogʷhei*	*ajhai*	*ažē*	*ahe*		
	ogʷhi	*ajhi*	*aži*			*óphi*
Nt (N–Ac–V)						
	bhūri	*bhūri*	*bū;rī*	*bhūri*		*ídri*
I.	*ogʷhī*	*ajhī*	*aži*	(vd)*matī*		
D.	*ogʷheyai*	*ajhayai*	*ažayaē–ca*	*ahaye*		
Ab-G.	*ogʷheis*	*ajhaiṣ*	G. *ažōiš*	*aheḥ*	*fravr̥taiš*	*ópheos*
			Ab. *ažōit̰* (182a)			
			ažaēδa (182b)			
L.	*ogʷhei*	*ajhai*	*mrūite*			*óphei*
	ogʷhēi	*ajhāi*	*garo*	(vd)*agnā*		*pólēi*
			<**garāi*	<**agnai*		

Dual

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	OP	Gk
N–Ac–V						
	ogʷhī	*ajhī*	*aži*	*ahī*		Lith *naktì*
Nt (N–Ac–V)						
	oqʷθī	*akṣī*	*aši*'eye'	*akṣī*		
I–D–Ab						
	ogʷhibhyō(m)	*ajhibhyām*	*ažibya*	*ahibhyām*		
G–L.	*ogʷhyŏu(s)*	*ajhyău(ṣ)*	G. *ašivå*	*ahyoḥ*		
			L. (lacking)			

Plural

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
N-V.	*ogʷheyes*	*ajhayas*	*ažayō*	*ahayaḥ*	*ópheis*
Ac.	*ogʷhins*	*ajhins*	*ažīš*	*ahīn*	(Argive)
			garayō (<N)	*ahīṃś-ca*	*ówins*
Nt (N-Ac-V)	*trī*	*trī*	g. *θrī*	(vd) *trī*	*tría*
I.	*ogʷhibhis*	*ajhibhiṣ*	**ažibiš*	*ahibhiḥ*	
D-Ab.	*ogʷhibhyos*	*ajhibhyas*	*ažibyō*	*ahibhyaḥ*	
G.	*ogʷhyōm*	*ajhyām*	*kaoyąm* (199)	*avyām*	*ophiôn*
		ajhinām	*ažinąm*	*ahīnām*	*ópheōn*
L.	*ogʷhisu*	*ajhiṣu*	**ažišu*	*ahiṣu*	*óphisi*

199. Declension of Some Peculiar *-i-* stems in Avestan

A. Declension Av *haši-*<IIr *sakhi-* cp Skt *sakhi-*.

The following forms are attested in Av.

Singular

N. gAv *haχā*, yAv *haχa* <IIr *sakhā*, cp Skt *sakhā*, OP *haχā-(manišiya-)* <IE *soqhō(y)*.

Ac. gAv *haχāim* <IIr *sakhāyam*, cp Skt *sakhāyam* <IE *soqhōy-m̥m*.

I. yAv *haša* <IIr *sakhyā*, cp Skt *sakhyā* <IE *soqhy-a*.

D. yAv *hašē* <IIr *sakhyai* cp Skt *sakhye* <IE *soqhy-aī*.

Dual

N-Ac. yAv *haša* <IIr *sakhyā(u)* cp Skt *sakhāyau* <IIr *sakhāy-āu*.

Plural

N-Ac. yAv *haχayō*, *haχaya* <IIr *sakhā́yas* Skt *sakhāyaḥ*.

G. yAv *hašąm* <IIr *sakhyām* Skt *sakhīnām*.

B. Av *kavi–*, cp Skt *kavi–*

The following forms are attested in Av.

Singular

N. *kavā* <IIr *kavā(i)*, cp Skt *kaviḥ* (like *ahiḥ*).
Ac. *kavāem* <IIr *kavāim* or *kavāyam*.
G. *kavōiš* <IIr *kavaiṣ*, cp Skt *kaveḥ*.

Plural

N. *kāvayas-cā* <IIr *kavayas*, cp Skt *kavayaḥ*.
G. *kaoyąm* <IIr *kavyām*, cp Skt *kavīnām*.

C. Av *pati–*, cp Skt *pati–* 'lord'.

The following singular forms are attested in Av.

N. *pa*^{i}*tiš* <IIr *patiṣ*, Skt *patiḥ*, Gk *pósis* <IE *potis*.
Ac. *pa*^{i}*θim* <IIr *patyam*.
pa^{i}*tim* <IIr *patim*, Skt *patim*.
I. *pa*^{i}*ti* <IIr *patī*, cp Skt (vd) *matī*.
D. gAv *pa*^{i}*θyaē-ca*.
yAv *pa*^{i}*θe* <**paθye* <IIr *patyai*, Skt *patye*.
G. *patōiš* <IIr *pataiṣ*, Skt *pateḥ*.

200. Avestan –*ī*– stems.

IE *ī* stems are chiefly of two types : Radical & derivative. The derivative *ī* stems are always feminine, Avestan mostly shows derivative *ī* stems and only a few traces of radical *ī* stems. Some of the derivative *ī* stems like *dāθrī* (cp Skt *dātrī*/*dhātri*) show influence of radical –*ī*– stems and therefore present nom sg in –*s* e.g. *dā*$^{\theta}$*riš*.

200a. Declension of Derivative –*ī*– stems.

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
N.	*weswī*	*vasvī*	g. *vaŋuhī* y. *vaŋuhi*	*vasvī*	*phérousa*
V.	*weswi*	*vasvi*	y. *vaŋuhi*	*vasvi*	

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
Ac.	*weswīm*	*vasvīm*	g. *vaŋuhīm* y. *vaŋuhim*	*vasvīm*	*phérousan*
I.	*weswī/wesyā*	*vasvī* *vasvyā*	g. *vaŋuhī/* *vaŋhuyā*	*vasvyā*	
D.	*weswyāi*	*vasvyāi*	g. *vaŋhuyāi*	*vasvyāi*	
Ab-G.	*weswyās*	*vasvyās*	g. *vaŋhuyå* (Ab. wanting)	*vasvyās*	
L.	*weswyā*	*vasvyā*	y. *pərəϑwe* (<**pr̥thvyā*)	*vasvyām*	

Dual

N-Ac.	*weswī*	*vasvi*	*azi*		

I-D-Ab G-L } wanting in Av.

Plural

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
N-Ac-V	*weswīs* (Ac. *wesy'-n̥s*)	*vasviṣ̌*	g. *vaŋuhiṣ̌*	*vasvīḥ*	
I.	wanting in Av.				
D-Ab.	*weswībhyos*	*vasvībhyas*	y. *vaŋuhibyō*	*vasvībhyaḥ*	
G.	*wesyōm*	*vasvīnām*	y. *vaŋuhīnąm*	*vasvīnām*	*phérousōn*
L.	*weswīsu*	*vasvīṣu*	y. *xšaϑrišu* y. *xšaθrišva*	*vasvīṣu*	

200b. Declension of Radical –*i*–stems.

Only a few forms are traceable. The history of the available forms only is given below.

Singular

N. *δīš* 'insight' <IIr *dhīṣ̌* <IE *dhīs*, cp Skt *dhīḥ*, cp Gk *kís*.
frīš 'gratifying' < IIr *prīṣ̌* <IE *prīs* cp Skt (vd) *–prīḥ*.

Ac. *δīm* <IIr *dhīm* <IE *dhīm* cp Skt *dhīm*.

I. *sr*^{a}*ya* (<¨*sriya*) <IIr *šriya* <IE *k̂riya* 'beauty', cp Skt *śriyā*.

D. -*jyōi* 'living' <IIr *jiyai* <IE *g*^{w}*iyai*, cp Skt *dhiye*.

Ab-G. *χšyō*, *χš*^{a}*yas-ca* <IIr *k̂ṣiyas* <IE *qsiyos*, cp Skt *dhiyaḥ*.

Dual

N-Ac. *frya* <IIr *priya*/*priyāu* <IE *priye*, cp Skt *dhiyau*/ (vd) *dhiyā*.

Plural

N. -*fryō* <IIr *priyas* <IE *priyes*, cp Skt (vd) -*priyaḥ*.

Ac. -*jyō* <IIr *jiyas* <IE *q*^{w}*iy-n̥s*; cp Skt *dhiyaḥ*.
jiš (after derivative stems).

D. *jibyō* <IIr *jibhyas* <IE *g*^{w}*ibhyos*, cp Skt *dhībhyaḥ*
Rest wanting in Av.

201. Avestan -*u*-Declension.

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	OP	Gk
Singular						
N.	*qratus*	*kratuṣ̌*	*χratuš*	*kratuḥ*	*kuruš*	*pêkhus*
V.	*qrateu*/ *qratu*	*kratau*/ *kratu*	*ma*^{i}*nyo* *bāzu*	*krato*		*pêkhu*
Ac.	*qratum*	*kratum*	*χratūm*	*kratum*	*visadahyum*	*pêkhun*
I.	*qratū*/ *qratwa*	*kratū* *kratvā*	*χratū* g. *χraθwā* y. *pa*^{u}*rva*.	(vd) *kratvā*		
D.	*qratwai*/ *qratewai*	*kratvai*/ *kratavai*	*χraθwe*/ *vaŋhave*	(vd) *kratve* *vasave*		
Ab-G.						
	qrateus	*kratauṣ̌*	(G) *χratāuš* (G) *paraoš* (Ab) *χratot̰* (182a)	*kratoḥ*		
	qratwos	*kratvas*	(G) *χraθwō* (Ab) *χraθwat̰* (182b)	(vd) *kratvaḥ*		

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	OP	Gk
L.	*qratēu*	*kratāu*	*xratå*	*kratau*		
			vaŋhāu			
	qrateu	*kratau*	*vīδātō*		*hindauv*	Ht *genu*

Dual

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
N-V-Ac.	*qratū*	*kratū*	g. *ma^{i}nyū*	*kratū*
			y. *pasu*	
Nt.	*weswī*	*vasvī*	*vaŋuhi*	(RV) *urvī*
(I-)D(-Ab)	*qratubhyō(m)*	*kratubhyām*	g. *ahubyū*	*kratubhyām*
			y. *pasubya*	
G-L.	*qratw-ŏu(s)*	*kratvău(ṣ)*	G. *pasvå*	*kratvoḥ*
			L. *aŋhvō*	

Plural

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	OP	Gk
N-V.	*qratewes*	*kratavas*	*xraiavō*	*kratavaḥ*		
						pḗkhees
	qratwes	*kratvas*	*pasvas-ca*			
				(vd) *kratvaḥ*		
Ac.	*qratw·n̥s*	*kratvas*	*pasvō*	(vd) *paśvaḥ*		*huîas*
	qratu-ns	*kratuns*	*xratūs*	*kratūn*		*huiụ́ns*
Nt.	*wesū*	*vasū*	*vohu-ca*	(vd) *vasu*		
I.	*qratubhis*	*kratubhiṣ*	*vaŋuhīš*	*kratubhiḥ*		
			yātuš (192b)			
D(-Ab).	*qratubhyos*	*kratubhyas*	*vaŋhubyō*	*kratubhyaḥ*		
G.	*qratwōm*	*kratvām*	*pasvąm*	(vd) *pasvām*		
		kratunām	*vohunām*	*kratūnām*	*parūnām*	
			g. *po^{u}rušū*			*pḗkheōn*
L.	*qratusu*	*kratuṣu*	y. *vaŋhušu*	*kratusu*		
			y. *pasušhva*		*dahyušuvā*	
			(=*pasušva*)			

202. Avestan ū stems.

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
N.	_tn̥nūs_	_tanūṣ́_	_tanuš_ < _ŭ̄s_	_tanūḥ_	_ophrū́s_
V.	(wanting in Av)				
Ac.	_tn̥nūm_	_tanūm_	y. _tanūm_		_ophrū́n_
	tn̥nuwm̥m	_tanuvam_	g. _tanvəm_ (= _tanuvəm_)	_tanuvam_	_ophrúa_
I.	_tn̥nuwa_	_tanuvā_	y. _tanva_ (= _tanuva_) g. _hizvā_ (= _hizuvā_)	_tanuvā_	
D.	_tn̥nawai_	_tanuvai_	g. _tanuyē_(<*_uvē_)	_tonuve_	
			y. _tanuye_(<*-_uve_)		
Ab-G.	_tn̥nuwos_	_tanuvas_	(G) _tanvō_(= _tanuvō_) (Ab) _tanvat̰_ (182a)	_tanuvaḥ_	_ophrúos_
L.	_tn̥nuwi_	_tanuvi_	_tanvi_ (= _tanuvi_) _tanvō_ (after _u_ stems)	_tanuvi_	_ophruí_

Dual

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
(I–)D(–Ab).	_bhrūbhyōm_	_bhrūbhyām_	_brvaṯbyąm_	_bhrūbhyām_	

Rest wanting in Av.

Plural

N-V.	_tn̥nuwes_	_tanuvas_	_tanvō_(= _tanuvō_)	_tanuvaḥ_	_ophrúes_
Ac.	_tn̥nuwn̥s_	_tanuvas_	_tanvō_(= _tanuvō_)	_tanuvaḥ_	_aphrúus_
I.	_tn̥nūbhis_	_tanūbhiṣ́_	g. _hizubīš_	_tanubhiḥ_	
D(–Ab).	_tn̥nūbhyos_	_tanūbhyas_	_tanubyō_	_tanūbhyaḥ_	
G.	_tn̥nuwōm_	_tanuvām_			
		tn̥nūnām	_tanunąm_	_tanūnām_	_ophrúōn_
L.	_tn̥nusu_	_tanuṣ́u_	_tanušu_	_tanūṣu_	

203. Avestan Diphthongal stems

Avestan has retained the declension of only one diphthongal stem *gāu*–. The stem *rāi*–<IE *rēi*– is attested in Av only in gen sg *rāyō* cp Skt *rāyaḥ* <IIr *rāyas* <IE *rēyos*. Besides Av shows nom sg *bāzāuš* <IE *bhāĝhēus* in compounds for *bāzuš* <IE *bhāĝhus*.

203a. Declension of Av *gāu* 'cow'

iugular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
N.	*g^{w}ōus*	*gāuṣ̌*	*gāuṣ̌* *gəuš*(<gen)	*gauḥ*	*boûs*
Ac.	*g^{w}ō(u)m* *g^{w}owm̥m*	*gā(u)m* *gavam*	*gąm* *gaom*	*gām*	*bôn*
I.	*g^{w}owa*	*gavā*	*gava*	*gavā*	
D.	*g^{w}owai*	*gavai*	g. *gavōi* y. *gave*	*gave*	
Ab-G.	*g^{w}ou-s*	*gauš*	(G) y. *gaoš* (G) g. *gəuš* (G) g. *gāuš* (<nom) (Ab) *gaot̰* (182a)	*goḥ*	*boós*
L.	*g^{w}owi*	*gavi*	(wanting)	*gavi*	

Dual

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
N(–Ac)	*g^{w}ow-e*	*gāvā̆*	*gāvā*	(vd) *gāvā*	*bóe*
I-D-Ab	wanting in	Av.			
G-L	*g^{w}ow-ō̆u(s)*	*gavā̆u(š)*	(G) *gavā̊* (L) (wanting) in Av.	*gavoḥ*	

Plusal

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
N-V	*g^{w}ōwes*	*gāvas*	*gāvō*	*gāvaḥ*	*bóes*
Ac	*g^{w}ow-n̥s*	*gās* (after *gām*)	*gā̊*	*gāḥ*	*bóas*
	g oubhis	*gaubhiṣ̌*	*gaobīš*	*gobhiḥ*	
D-Ab	*g^{w}oubhyas*	*gaubhyas*	(wanting in Av)	*gobhyaḥ*	
G	*g^{w}ow-ōm*	*gavām*	*gavąm*	*gavām*	*boôn*
L	*g^{w}ou-su*	*gauṣu*	(wanting in Av)	*goṣu*	

CHAPTER XIV

DECLENSION OF LIQUID, NASAL AND SPIRANT STEMS

204. Avestan *–r*-stems

Avestan *–r–* stems are of four types, represented by *nar–*, *pitar–*, *dātar* & *ātar*.

(**a**) *nar–* is a simple monosyllabic *–ar* stem; it is distinguished from the rest in presenting strong grade in several forms, where other *–r–* stems show weak grade : e.g. *nar–* has strong grade in I-D–Ab–G sg, G-L dl, G pl (vide 205 for illustrations), where *pitar–* etc show weak grade. In other forms it agrees with *pitar–* in gradation.

(**b**) *pitar–* is a relation *–tar* stem, showing long grade in nom sg, strong grade in nom dl & pl, acc sg & dl, voc sg & loc sg and weak grade in the rest (vide 206 for forms).

(**c**) *dātar–* is a non-relation *–tar* stem, showing long grade in nom sg, dl, pl & acc sg, dl, strong grade in voc sg & loc sg and weak grade in the rest (vide 207 for declension).

(**d**) *ātar–* is a stem which has presented the declension of IE/IIr radical *r̥̄* stems and this is therefore distinguished from other *–r* stems in having *–s* in nom sg; e.g. nom sg. Av *ātarš̌* <IIr *ātr̥̄ṣ̌* cp Skt *gīr* <IIr *gr̥̄ṣ̌* Gk (*homo–*)*brōs* <IE *gʷr̥̄s* (vide 208).

204a. It may be noted that Avestan does not present any masculine and feminine distinction with *–r* stems unlike Sanskrit. Skt shows the distinciton only in acc pl which is an innovation; cp Skt fem *mātr̥̄ḥ* : masc *pitr̥̄n* etc.

Neuter *–r* stems have the same declension as masc-fem *–r–* stems, excepting in nom-acc-voc forms (just like other declensions). In N-Ac-V sg they show strong grade (e.g.

gAv *vadarᵊ̄*, yAv *vadarᵊ*, cp Skt *vadhar*) and in plural long grade (e.g. yAv *āyarᵊ̄*), with nil ending in both which is usual in Av.

Heteroclisis of neuter *–r*/*–n* stems in very rare in Av; cp Av *ayar– ayan–* 'day'.

The stem *hvar* (= *huvar*) is also neuter. The corresponding Skt form *svar* (= vd *suvar*) is also neuter. Beside genitive sg *hūrō* (cp Skt vd *sūraḥ*), Av shows a form *hū* (< IIr *sū*) with the same meaning as *hūrō*. But this may be an indeclinable form being in origin a fossilized form of the IIr root √*sū* 'impell', cp Skt *savitar–* 'impeller, Sun'.

205. Declensien of Avestan *nar–*

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
N	*nē̆(r)*	*nā*	*nā*	*nā*	*anḗr*
V	*ner*	*nar*	*narᵊ*	*nar*	*âner*
Ac	*nerm̥m*	*naram*	*narəm*	*naram*	*anéra*
I	*nera*	*narā*	*nara*	*narā*	
D	*nerai*	*narai*	g. *narōi* y. *naⁱre*	*nare*	
Ab-G	*neros/* *ners/* *nr̥s/*	*naras/* *narṣ̌* *nr̥ṣ̌*	(G) y. *narš* (G) g. *narəš* (Ab) *narət̰* (182a)	*naraḥ*	*anéros*
L	*neri*	*nari*	*naⁱri*	*nari*	*anéri*
Dual					
N(–V–Ac)	*nere*	*nara* *narā(u)*	*nara*	(vd) *narā* *narau̯*	*anére*
(I –)D(–Ab)	*nr̥bhyō(m)*	*nr̥bhyā(m)*	*nerəbya*	*nr̥bhyām*	
G(–L)	*nerŏ̄(s)*	*narā̆u(ṣ̌)*	G. *narå* L. wanting	(cl) *naroḥ*	

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
Plural					
N(–V)	*neres*	*naras*	*narō*	*naraḥ*	*anéres*
Ac	*n(e)r·n̥s* *nṛ-ns*	*n(a)r·as* *nr̥ns*	*nəraąs* *nərə̄uš* (anomalous)	 *nr̥̄n*	*anéras*
I	*nr̥bhis*	*nr̥bhiṣ̌*	(wanting)	*nr̥bhiḥ*	
D(-Ab)	*nṛbhyos*	*nr̥bhyas*	*nər^{ə}byō*	*nr̥bhyaḥ*	
G	*nerōm*	*narām*	*narąm*	*narām*	*anérōn*
L	*nr̥su*	*nr̥ṣ̌u*	(wanting)	*nr̥ṣu*	

206. Declension of Avestan *pitar*

	IE	IIr	AV	Skt	Gk
Singular					
N	*pətē(r)*	*pitā*	g. *ptā, p^{ə}tā, tā* y. *pita*	*pitā*	*patér*
V	*pəter*	*pitar*	(wanting)	*pitaḥ*	*páter*
Ac	*pəterm̥(m)*	*pitaram*	g. *p^{a}tarə̄m* y. *pitarəm*	*pitaram*	*patéra*
I	*pətra*	*pitra*	**piθra* (cp nt *aodra*)	*pitrā*	
D	*pətrai*	*pitrai*	*piθrē, fəδrōi*	*pitre*	
(Ab)–G	*pətros*	*pitras*	**piθrō* (cp *dāθrō*)	*pituḥ*	*patrós*
L	*pəteri*	*pitari*	**pita^{i}ri* (cp *na^{i}ri*)	*pitari*	*patéri*
Dual					
N(–V–Ac)	*pətere*	*pitara* *pitarā̆u*	*pitarə*	*pitarau*	*patére*
I–D–Ab & G–L		wanting in Av.			
Plural					
N(–V)	*pəteres*	*pitaras*	g. *p^{a}tarō*	*pitaraḥ*	*patéres*
Ac	*pətr-n̥s*	*piiaras*	*f^{ə}δrō* cp also *mātərš-cāą*	*piir̥̄n*	*patéras*

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
I	wanting in Av.				
D(–Ab)	*pətr̥bhyos*	*pitr̥bhyas*	*ptərəbyō*	*pitr̥bhyaḥ*	
G	*pətrōm*	*pitrām*	**piθrąm*	*pitr̥̄ṇām*	*patrôn*
			cp *dug^{ə}drąm*	(innovation)	
L	wanting in Av.				

207. Declension of Avestan *dātar–*

History of the forms attested in Avestan is cited in this table.

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
N	*dōtōr*	*dātā*	g. *dātā* y. *dāta*	*dātā*	*dṓtōr*
V	*dōtor*	*dātar*	*dātar'*	*dātar*	*dôtor*
Ac	*dōtōr-m̥m*	*dātaram*	*dātarəm*	*dātāram*	*dṓtora*
G	*dōtr-os*	*dātras*	*dāθrō*	*dātuḥ* (innovation)	*dṓtoros*

Plural

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
N	*dōtores*	*dātāras*	*dātārō*	*dātāraḥ*	*dṓtores*

208. Declension Avestan *ātar–*

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
N	*ā^{x}tr̥̄s*	*ātr̥̄ṣ̌*	*ātarš*	*gīr*<IE *gr̥̄s*
V	*ā^{x}tr̥r*	*ātr̥r*	*ātar'*	
Ac	*ā^{x}tr̥rm̥m*	*ātr̥ram*	g. *ātarə̄m* y. *ātarəm* g. *ātrə̄m* y. *ātrəm* (=*ātr̥rəm*)	*giram*<IE *gr̥rm̥m*
I	*ā^{x}tra*	*ātrā*	g. *āθrā*	*girā*<IE *gr̥ra*
D	*ā^{x}trai*	*ātrai*	g. *āθrē* y. *āθre*	*gire*<IE *gr̥rai*

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
Ab-G	*ā*tr̥ros*	*ātr̥ras*	*ātarš* (after *narš* 205)	
	*ā*tros*	*ātras*	*āθrō* (Ab) *ā°rat̰* (182a)	*giraḥ*<IE *gr̥ros*
L	*ā*tr̥ri*	*ātr̥ri*	cp g. *saⁱri*	*giri*<IE *gr̥ri*
Plural				
N	*ā*tr̥res*	*ātaras*	cp *X°arō*	*giraḥ*<IE *gr̥res*
Ac	*ā*tr̥rn̥s*	*ātaras*	*ātarō*	*giraḥ*<IE *gr̥rn̥s*
G	*ā*trōm*	*ātrām*	*āᶜrąm*	*girām*<IE *gr̥rōm*

209. Avestan *–n* stems

The *–n* stems are broadly of two types from Indo-Iranian point of view :—*an* stems and *–in* stems.

A. The *–an* stems are of two types : Radical & Derivative.

(**a**) Radical–*an* stem is represented by Av *jā–/jan–*; cp Skt *hā–/han–* <IIr *jhā–/jhan* <IE *gʷhn̥̄–/gʷhn̥n–*; IIr *jh–* instead of *gh*–is generalized from *jhan–* < IE *gʷhen–*. The nom sg of radical *–an* stem shows *–s* ending like all other radical stems (cp Av *jå* <IIr *jhās* <IE *gʷhn̥̄s*). But often this was effected analogically by derivative *–n* stems which show nil ending in nom sg (cp Av *jā* beside *jå* after *spā* etc.). Skt also has replaced *–s* ending by nil in several forms of radical *–n* stems (cp Skt *–hā* nom sg in *vr̥trahā*).

(**b**) Derivative *–an* stems may be classified broadly as *–man* & *–van* stems.

(**i**)-*van* stems. Skt shows four types : *śvan*, *yuvan* *maghavan* & *r̥tāvan*. But Av practically presents only two types of *–van* declension.

(*α*) *span–* (= Skt *śvan*) type, which includes *yvan* (= Skt *yuvan*) type, showing weak grade *sūn* like *yūn*, in contrast to Skt *śun* & *yūn*.

(β) *ašavan–* type which includes traces of both Skt *r̥tāvan–* & *maghavan–* type; cp Av *ašāune*=Skt *r̥tāvṇe* & *ašaone*=Skt *maghone* both in dative singular.

(ii) *–man* stems. The distinction of two types of *–man* stems as shown in Skt *ātman–* (Inst *ātmanā*) and *nāman–* (Inst *nāmnā*)/*aryaman–* (*aryamnā*) is only partly shown in Avestan, since Av often shows *–man–* in place of *–mn–*.

B. IIr *–in* stems owe their origin to generalization of weak grade of IE *–yen* stems. Further IIr shows innovations in *–in* stems remodelled after IIr *–an* stems; cp neut sg Av *fraχsni*, Skt *dhani* with loss of final *–n* after Av *ną̇ma*, Skt *nāma* <IE *nōmn̥*.

210. Declension of Radical *–n* stems

Av *jā*/*jan*/*γn* <IIr *jhā*/*jhn* <IE *g*^{w}*hn̥̄*/*g*^{w}*hn̥n*/*g*^{w}*hn*; *jh–* in IIr *jhan* <IE *g*^{w}*hn̥n* is due to influence of IIr *jhan*<IE *g*^{w}*hen*.

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
N	*g*^{w}*hn̥̄s*	*jhās*	*jå* (also *jă* after derivative)	*–hā* (after derivative
Ac	*g*^{w}*hn̥nm̥m*	*jhanam*	*janəm*	*–hanam*
I	*g*^{w}*hna*	*ghnā*	(wanting)	*–ghnā*
D	*g*^{w}*hnai*	*ghnai*	*–γne*	*–ghne*
Ab·G	*g*^{w}*hnos*	*ghnas*	G. wanting Ab. *γnat̰* (182a)	*–ghnaḥ*

L wanting in Av.

Dual wanting in Av

Plaral

N	*g*^{w}*hn̥nes*	*ghanas*	*janō*	*–hanaḥ*
Ac	*g*^{w}*hn̥nn̥s*	*jhanas*	*janō*	*–hanaḥ*
G	*g*^{w}*hnōm*	*ghnām*	*γnam*	*–ghnām*

Rest wanting in Av.

210a. Av *χā* <IIr *khā* <IE *qhn̥̄* has passed on to radical *ā* stems : sg. N *χå*, Ac *χąm*, pl N-Ac *χå*, cp similar transfer of Skt *jā* (<IE *ĝn̥̄*) from radical *n̥̄* stem to radical *ā* stem.

211. Declension of Av *span–* <IIr *švan* <IE *k̂won–*

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
N	*k̂wō(n)*	*švā*	*spā*	*śvā*	*kuṓn*
Ac	*k̂wōn-m̥m*	*švanām*	*spānəm*	*śvānam*	*kúna* (<gen)
I	*k̂un-a*	*šuna*	cp *uruna*	*śunā*	
D	*k̂un-ai*	*šunai*	*sūne*	*śune*	

Rest wanting in Av

Dual

N (–Ac–V)

	k̂wōne	*švāna/śvānāu*	*spāna*	*śvānau*

Rest wanting in Av

Plural

N(–V)	*k̂wōn-es*	*švānas*	*spānō*	*śvānaḥ*	*kúnes* (<gen)
Ac	*k̂un-n̥s*	*šunas*	cp *urunō*	*śunaḥ*	*kúnas*
G.	*k̂un-ōm*	*šunām*	*sūnąm*	*śunām*	*kunôn*

212. Declension of Av *yvan–* (=*yuvan–*)<IIr *yuvan–*<IE *yuwen*, cp Lat *juvenis*, Skt *yuvan–* etc.

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
N	*yuwē(n)*	*yuvā*	*yawa* (<**yuvā*)	*yuvā*
V	*yuwen*	*ynvan*	*yum* (<* *yuvən*)	*yuvan*
Ab (–G)	*yunos*	*yunas*	*yūnat̰* (182ã)	*yūnaḥ*

Rest wanting.

213. Declension of Av *ašavan-* <IIr *r̥tavan-* <IE *r̥towen*, cp Skt *r̥tāvan-*, for certain variant forms cp Skt *maghvan*.

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
Singular				
N	*r̥tō̆wē(n)*	*r̥tā̆vā*	*ašavā*	*r̥tāvā*
V	*r̥tō̆wen*	*r̥tavan*	*ašaom* <**ašaun*	*maghavan*
		r̥tāvan	*ašāum* <**ašāun*	*r̥tāvaḥ*
Ac	*r̥tō̆wenm̥m*	*r̥tā̆vā̆nam*	*ašavanəm*	*r̥tāvānam*
I	wanting in Av.			
D	*r̥tōun-ai*	*r̥taunai*	*ašaone*	*maghone*
	r̥tōun-ai	*r̥tāunai*	*ašāune*	*r̥tāvne*
Ab-G	*r̥tō̆un-as*	*r̥tā̆unas*	*ašaonō*	*maghonah*
			Ab *ašaanat̰* (182a)	*r̥tāvnaḥ*
L	*r̥tō̆un-i*	*rtā̆uni*	*ašavanaya* (new formation after *-a* stem)	*maghoni* *r̥tāvani*
Dual				
N	*r̥tō̆wē̆n-e*	*rtā̆vā̆n-a/* *r̥tāvā̆n-āu*	*ašavana*	*r̥tāvānau*
G	*r̥tō̆un-ō̆u(s)*	*r̥tā̆un-ā̆u(ṣ̆)*	*ašaonå*	*maghonoḥ* *r̥tāvnoḥ*
Plural				
N	*r̥tō̆wēn-es*	*r̥tā̆vānas*	*ašavanō* *ašaonō*(<Ac)	*r̥tāvānaḥ*
Ac	*r̥tō̆un-n̥s*	*r̥tā̆unas*	*ašāunō* **ašāonō* (transfered to nom)	*r̥tāvnaḥ* *maghonaḥ*
I	*r̥tō̆wn̥-bhiṣ*	*r̥tāvabhiṣ*	*ašaonīš* (192a)	*r̥tāvabhiḥ* *maghavabhiḥ*

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
D-Ab	*r̥tō̆wn̥-bhyos*	*r̥tā̆vabhyas*	*ašavabyō* *ašāvaoyō* (<**ašāvavyō* <–*wyō*<–*byō*)	*maghavabhyaḥ* *r̥tāvabhyaḥ*
G	*r̥tō̆un-ōm*	*r̥tā̆unām*	*ašāunąm* *ašaonąm*	*r̥tāvnām* *maghonām*
L	*r̥tōwn̥-su*	*r̥tā̆vasu*	cp *karṣ̌ōhu*	*r̥tāvasu*

214. Declension Av *a^{i}ryaman–*

< IIr *aryaman–* cp Skt *aryaman–*

Since this is attested only in sg, some pl forms are shown with neuter *–man* stems preceded by a vowel, as distinguished from the next *–aśman–* (215), showing *–man* stems preceded by a consonant.

Singular

	Av	Skt
N	*a^{i}ryamā,*	*aryamā*
I	*a^{i}ryamnā*	*aryamnā*
G	*a^{i}ryamanas-cā* (for –**mnas*)	*aryamnaḥ*
L	*airyama^{i}ni*	*aryamni*

Plural

	Av	Skt
I	*nāmənīš* (192a) *dāməbiš*	*nāmabhiḥ* *dhāmabhiḥ*
D(–Ab)	*dāmabyō*	*dhāmabhyaḥ*
G	*dāmanąm* (for **dāmnąm*)	*dhāmnām*
L	*dāmōhu* *dāmahva*	*dhāmasu*

215. Declension of Avestan *asman–*

Forms wanting are supplied from similar *–man* stems preceded by a consonant.

Singular

	Av	Skt
N	wanting in Av.	
Ac	*asmanəm·ca*	*aśmānam*
I	*maēsmana*	cp *aśmanā*
D	*haxmaⁱne*	cp *aśmane*
(Ab–)G	*rasmanō*	cp *aśmanaḥ*
	(Ab) *cašmanat̰* (182a)	
L	g. *cašmaⁱnī*	cp *aśmani*
	g. *cašməng/cašmąm* (=*cašmąn*)	cp *aśman* (vd)

Dual

	Av	Skt
N	*rasmana*	cp (vd) *asmana*
G	*cašmanå*	cp *aśmanoḥ*

Rest wanting in Av.

Plural

	Av	Skt
Ac	*rasmanō*	cp *aśmanaḥ*
D	*dvąnmaⁱbyas–ca*	cp *aśmabhyaḥ*

Rest wanting in Av.

116. Declension of Av neuter *–an* stems.

Singular N–Ac–V

Av	Skt	IIr	IE	Others
nąma	*nāma*	*nāma*	*nōmn̥*	Gk *onoma* Lat *nomen*
dąma	*dhāma*	*dhāma*	*dhēmn̥*	
ašava	**r̥tāvā*	*r̥tăva*	*r̥tŏwn̥*	
g. *haxʼmā*	**sakma*	*sakma*	*seqmn̥*	

Dual

N–Ac(–V) Not attested in Av.

Plural

Av	Skt	IIr	IE	Remarks
nąma	(vd) *nāma* (pl)	*nāma*	*nōmn̥*	sg-pl identical
ašava	(vd) **r̥tāva*	*r̥tā̆va*	*r̥tō̆wn̥*	Do
dāmąm (= *dāmą*)	—	*dhāmān*	*dhēmēn*	endingless long grade attested only in Av
ašaoni	cp *nāmāni*	*r̥tavani*	*r̥towenə*	pl with ə ending
g. *sāX^{v}ənī* 'teachings'	cp **śāsvāni*	*šāsvāni*	*k̂āswenə*	Do

217. Declension of Avestan – *in* stems.

A. Masculine-Feminine Declension

Singular

	Av	Skt	IIr
N	*fraXšni, sraoši*	*dhanī*	*–ī*
D	*pərənine*	*dhanine*	*–in–ai*
G	*ka^{i}nīnō* (fem)	*dhaninaḥ*	*–in–as*

Dual

N	*parənīnō* (<pl)	*dhaninau*	*–in–a/-in-āu*

Plural

N	*ka^{i}nīnō* (fem)	*dhaninaḥ*	*–in-as* <IE *–in–es*
Ac	*yəvīnō*	*dhaninaḥ*	*–in-as* <IE *–in–n̥s*
G	*myezdinąm*	*dhaninām*	*–in-ām*

B. Neuter (N–Ac–V)

Singular

fraXšni	*dhani*

218. Avestan *–m* stems

The *–m* stems were very rare in IE. Av shows a few radical *–m* stems only.

Av *zam-* 'earth' <IIr *žham* <IE *ĝhom* cp Skt *kṣam-*, Gk *khthon-*, Ht *degan* <IE *ĝhδom.*

Av *dam-* 'house' <IIr *dam-* <IE *dom-* cp Skt *dam-*, cp also Gk *dómos*, Lat *domns* <IE *domos.*

Av *zyam-* 'winter' <IIr *žhyam-* <IE *ĝhyom-* cp Gk *khion-*, cp also Skt *hima-*(<IE *ĝhimo-*), *hemanta-* (<IE *ĝheimonto-*), Ht *gemant* (<IE *ĝheimont-*).

Av *ham-* 'summer' <IIr *sam-* <IE *som-* cp Skt *samā* 'year, season' (<IE *somā*), *samaya-* 'time' (<IE *somoyo-*).

Singular

	AV	IIr	IE	Skt	Gk
N	*då*	*dās*	*dm̥̄s*		
	zå	*žnās*	*ĝhm̥̄s*	cp *kṣāḥ*	*khthṓn* (Ht *degan*)
	zyå	*žhyās*	*ĝhym̥̄s*	(cp *hima-*)	*khiṓn*
Ac	*dąm*	*dām*	*dm̥̄m*		
	ząm	*žhām*	*ĝhm̥̄m*	cp *kṣām*	
I	*zᵊmā*	*žhmā*	*ĝhma*	cp *kṣmā, jmā*	
(Ab-) G					
	zᵊmō 'of earth'	*žhmas*	*ĝhmos*	cp *kṣmaḥ*	*khthonós* (Ht *dagnas*
	ẓᵊmō (<*zyəmō) 'of winter'	*žhyamas*	*ĝhyemos*	cp *jmaḥ*	
	hamō	*samas*	*somos*	(cp *samā*)	
	dəng (<*dąns)	*dāns*	*dṓms*	*dan*	*des-*(*despótēs*)
Ab	*zᵊmat̰* (182a)				
L	*dąmi*	*dāmi*	*dōm-i*	cp *kṣami*	*khthòni*
	dąm, dąn	*dām*	*dōm*	—	—
	dəmōi	*dmai*	*dm-ai* (L<D)	—	—
	zmē	*žhmai*	*ĝhmai* (L<D)	—	*khamaí* (adv < dat)

Plural

	Av	IIr	IE	Skt
N	*z³mō* <**zyamō* 'winter'	*žhyamas*	*ĝhyemes*	cp *kṣāmaḥ*
Ac	*z³mas-ca* 'earth'	*žhmas*	*ĝhmn̥s*	
G	*z'mąm*	*žhmām*	*ĝhmōm*	cp *damām*

219. Avestan spirant stems

The Av spirant stems are historically IIr sibilant stems. They are broadly of four types :

h stems (<IIr *s* stems = Skt *s* stems).
š stems (<IIr *ṣ̌* stems = Skt *ṣ* stems).
s stems (<IIr *š* stems = Skt *ś* stems).
z stems (<IIr *ž*/*žh* stems = Skt *j*/*h* stems).

(A) Av *h* stems are of two types : Radical and Derivative.

(a) Radical stems include (i) purely radical stems like *āh*– (<IIr *ās*–, Skt *ās*–) 'mouth', *māh*– (IIr/Skt *mās*–) 'month', *nāh*– (IIr/Skt *nās*–) 'nose', and (ii) extended radical stems like *yāh*– 'Crisis' (IIr *yās*– < √*yā* 'go'), *dāh*– 'gift' (<IIr *dās*–< √*dā* 'give'). The extended radical stems owe their origin to radical *ā* stems with generalisation of nom sg. Thus these stems although secondary in origin are akin with the radical *s* stems in declension. These stems are always found in neuter.

(b) Derivative *h* stems are of three types : –*ah*, –*yah*, –*vah* stems. Each of them distinguishes masculine and neuter.

(i) *ah* stems are mostly attested as neuter. The corresponding masculine forms are mostly found in compounds.

(ii) *yah* stems are mostly stems denoting comparative degree.

(iii) *vah* stems are stems denoting perfect participle active. They show long, strong and weak grade viz. *vāh* : *vah* : *uš*. Although long grade is attested in nom sg like Skt etc, Av also shows weak grade in nom sg peculiarly which may be an extension from neuter or from weak cases like dative, genitive etc.

(B) Av *š* stems are of two types : Radical & Derivative.

(a) The radical stems are illustrated by *iš*– (<IIr *iṣ̌*–, Skt *iṣ*–) 'desire', *t̰biṣ̌*–(<IIr *dviṣ̌*–, Skt *dviṣ*–) 'enemity' etc.

(b) Derivative –*š* stems are always attested in neuter in Avestan. They may be classified as (i) –*iš* stem (e.g. *sna*^{i}*θiš*, *hadiš*, *vi*^{θ}*iš*, *sta riš*), and (ii) –*uš* stems . e.g. *ar*^{ə}*duš*, *tanuš*).

(C) *s* stems are mostly masculine and feminine radical stems. eg. *vis* (<IIr *viš*, Skt *viś*). But rarely neuter also occurs. cp Av neut pl *pa*^{i}*θi* (=**pisi*)<stem *pis*–<IIr *piš*, Skt *piś* 'adorned'.

(D) *z* stems are of two types from historical point of view : $^{(a)}$ z^{1} stems <IIr *ž̌*=Skt *j* stems represented by *var*^{ə}*z* 'working' and $^{(b)}$$z^{2}$ stems <IIr *ž̌h*=Skt *h* stems represented by Av *dərəz* (<IIr *dr̥ž̌h*, Skt *dr̥h*), *maz* (<IIr *maž̌h*, Skt *mah*), *bərəz* <IIr *bhr̥ž̌h*, Skt *br̥h*).

220. Declension of Avestan Radical –*h* stems (<IIr –*s* stems) (219Aa-i)

Singular

	Av	IIr	IE	Skt	
N	*må, mås–ca*	*mās*	*mn̥̄s*	*māḥ*	cp Lat *mensis*
Ac	*måŋhəm*	*māsam*	*mn̥̄sm̥m*	*māsam*	
I.	g. *ə̄əåŋhā*	*āsā*	*ōsa*	*āsā*	
G.	*måŋhō*	*māsas*	*mn̥̄sos*	*māsaḥ*	

Dual

	Av	IIr	IE	Skt
N	*nåŋha*	*nās–a/* *nās–ā(u)*	*nās–e*	(vd) *nāsā,* *nāsau*

Plural

N	*måŋhō*	*māsas*	*mn̥̄ses*	*māsaḥ*
Ac	*måŋhō*	*māsas*	*mn̥̄sn̥s*	*māsaḥ*

Rest not attested in Av.

221. Declension of Extended Radical *–h* stems in Avestan (219A a-ii)

Only nom sg is historical. Rest are transferred from *–ā* to *–s* stem.

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	
N	*då*	*dā-s*	*dāḥ*	(*ā*-stem in IIr & Skt)
	yå	*yā-s*	*yāḥ*	
G	*yåŋhō*			
L	*yāhī*			

Plural

G	*yåŋhąm*

222. Declension of Avestan Derivative –*ah* stem (219A-b-i)

cp masc *dusmanah–*, neut *manah–* . The neuter forms are illustrated in I, D, Ab, G, L as the masc & neuter are identical in these forms.

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
N. (Mc)	*dusmenēs*	*duẓ̌manās*	*dusmanå*	*durmanāḥ*	*dusmenḗs*
V (Mc)	*dusmenes*	*dnẓ̌manas*	*dusmano*	*durmanaḥ*	*dnsmenés*
Ac (Mc)	*dusmenesm̥m*	*duẓ̌manasam*	*dusmanaŋhəm*	*durmanasam*	*dusmenéa*
N–V–Ac (Neut)	*menes*	*manas*	*manō*	*manaḥ*	*ménos*
I	*menesa*	*manasā*	*manaŋhā̆*	*manasā*	
D	*menesai*	*manasai*	*manaŋhe*	*manase*	
Ab-G	*menesos*	*manasas*	*manaŋhō* (Ab) *manaŋhat̰* (182a)	*manasaḥ*	
L	*menesi* *menes* (Nil ending)	*manasi* *manąs*	*manahi* *mąnō*	*manasi*	*ménei*

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
Dual					
A–V–Ac (Mc)	*dusmenese*	*duẑ̌manasa/āu*	*dusmanaŋha*	*durmanasau*	*dusmenée*
N–V–Ac (Nt)	*menesī*	*manasī*	wanting	*manasī*	*ménei*
G	*menesō̆u(s)*	*manasā̆u(ṣ̌)*	G. **manaŋhå* cp *nəmaŋhå*	*manasoḥ*	
Rest (wanting in Av)					
Plural					
N–V (Mc)	*dusmeneses*	*duẑ̌manasas*	*dusmanaŋhō*	*durmanasaḥ*	*dusmenées*
Ac (Mc)	*dusmenesn̥s*	*duẑ̌manasas*	*dusmanaŋhō*	*durmanasaḥ*	*dusmenéas*
N–V–Ac (Nt)	*menēs(ə)*	*manās(i)*	*manå*	*manāṃsi*	*ménea*
I	*menez-bhis*	*manazbhīṣ̌*	*manəbīṣ̌* (= *manōbīš*)	*manobhiḥ*	
D–Ab	*menezbhyos*	*manazbhyas*	cp *raocəbyo* (= *raocōbyō*)	*manobhyaḥ*	
G	*menesōm*	*manasām*	*manaŋhąm*	*manasām*	*méneōn*
L	*mene(s)sII*	*mana(s)sII*	cp *raocōhva* cp *ązahu*	*manaḥsu* *aṃhasu*	*ménessi*

223. Declension of Avestan -*yah* stems (Vide 219A-b-ii). Forms attested in Av are shown. Gk *hedī́on* is comparable with nom sg only.

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
Singular				
N	*wes(ī̆)yōs*	*vas(ī̆)yās*	g. *vah·yå* y. *masyå*	*vas(ī)yān*
Ac	*wes(ī̆)yōs-m̥m*	*vas(ī̆)yāsam*	cp. *nāⁱdyåŋhəm*	*vas(ī)yāṃsam*
Nt(N-V-Ac)	*wes(ī̆)yos*	*vas(ī̆)yas*	cp. *masyō*	*vas(ī)yaḥ*
D	*wes(ī̆)yos-ai*	*vas(ī̆)yasai*	cp. *kasyaŋhe*	*vas(ī)yase*
(Ab-)G	*wes(ī̆)yos-os*	*vas(ī̆)yasas*	cp. *nāⁱdyåŋhō*	*vas(ī)yasaḥ*
Dual				
N	*wes(ī̆)yos-e*	*vas(ī̆)yas-a/-āu*	cp. *āsyaŋha*	*vas(ī)yaṃsa*
Plural				
N(-V)	*wes(ī̆)yos-es*	*vas(ī̆)yasas*	cp. *masyaŋhō*	*vas(ī)yaṃsaḥ*
Ac	*wes(ī̆)yos-n̥s*	*vas(ī̆)yasas*	cp. *kasyaŋhō*	*vas(ī)yasaḥ*
N-V-Ac(Nt)	*wes(ī̆)yōs(-ə)*	*vas (ī̆)yās(i)*	*vaⁱŋhås-ca*	*vas(ī)yāṁsi*
I	*wes(ī̆)yozbhis*	*vas(ī̆)yazbhiṣ*	cp. *staoyəbīš*	*vas(ī)yobhiḥ*
G	*wes(ī̆)yosōm*	*vas(ī̆)yasām*	cp. *kasyaŋhąm*	*vas(ī)yasām*

224. Declension of Avestan -*vah* stems (Vide 219A-b-iii). Only masculine forms are attested in Av. Forms attested in Av are shown below. Gk form *eidṓs* is comparable with nom sg. only.

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
Singular				
N.	*widwōs*	*vidvās*	g. *vīdvå*, y. *viδvå* also y. *zazva* (with loss of *s* by sandhi) also g. *vīduš* y. *viθuš* **(219A-b-iii)**	*vīdvān*

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
Ac	*widwōs–m̥m*	*vidvāsam*	*viδvåŋhəm*	*vidvāṃsam*
D	*widus-ai*	*viduṣ̌ai*	g. *vidušē*	*viduṣe*
G	*widusos*	*viduṣ̌as*	G. *vidušō*	*viduṣaḥ*
			Ab. *da^{f}ušat̰* (182a)	
Plural				
N	*widwōs-es*	*vidvāsas*	*viδvåŋhō*	*vidvāṃsaḥ*
I	*widwoz-bhis*	*vidvazbhiṣ̌*		*vidvadbhiḥ*
	widuz-bhis	*viduẓ̌bhiṣ̌*	cp *dadūžbīš*	
G	*widus-ōm*	*viduṣ̌ūm*	cp *vaonušąm*	*viduṣām*
L	*widwo(s,su*	*vidva(s)su*	*zazušu* (<stem *zazvas–*)	*vidvatsu*

225. Avestan Radical –*š* stems (219 B–a)

The following forms are attested in Av.

Singular

	Av	IIr	IE	Skt
N	*vāχš* 'growing'	*vākṣ̌*	*wāqs*	*anak* (<*kṣ*)
Ac	*īšəm*	*iṣ̌am*	*ism̥m*	*iṣam*
D	–*t̰bīše*	*dvišai*	*dwisai*	*dviṣe*
Ab	*vaχšat̰* (181a)			

Plural

	Av	IIr	IE	Skt
N	*īšō*	*iṣ̌as*	*ises*	*iṣaḥ*
Ac	*īšō*	*iṣ̌as*	*isn̥s*	*iṣaḥ*
G	*t̰baēšąm*	*dv(a)išām*	*dw(o)isōm*	*dviṣām*

226. Avestan Derivative –*iš* stems (219B–b–i).

The following neuter forms only are attested in Av.

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt
(N–V)Ac	*sna^{i}θīš*	*snathiṣ̌*	*haviṣ*
I	g. *sna^{i}θišā*	*snathišā*	*haviṣā*

	Av	IIr	Skt
G	*hadišas-ca*	*snathiṣ̌as*	*haviṣaḥ*
L	*viθiśi*	*snathiši*	*haviṣi*
Dual			
D	*sna^{i}θiž̌bya*	*snathiẓ̌bhyā(m)*	*havirbhyām*
Plural			
N(-A-Ac)	*-sta^{i}riš* (pl = sg)	*snathiṣ̌(i)*	*havīṃṣi*
G	*sna^{i}θišąm*	*snathiṣ̌ām*	*haviṣām*

226a. Avestan Derivative *-uš* stems (219B-b-ii).

The following neuter forms only are attested in Av. Skt corresponding forms are shown in bracket.

sg. Ac *ar^{ə}duš* (*vapuṣ*), I *ar^{ə}duša* (*vapuṣā*)
Ab *ar^{ə}dušat̰*(181a), L *tanuši-ca* (*vapuṣi*)
Pl G. *ar^{ə}dušąm* (*vapuṣām*).

227. Avestan *-s* stems (< IIr š̌) (219C)

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
N	*wik̂s*	*višṣ̌*	*viš*	*viṭ*
Ac	*wik̂m̥m*	*višam*	*vīsam*	*viśam*
I	*wik̂a*	*višā*	*vīsa*	*viśā*
D	*wik̂ai*	*višal*	*vīse*	*viśe*
Ab-G.	*wik̂os*	*višas*	Ab *vīsat̰*(182a)	*viśaḥ*
L	*wik̂i*	*viši*	*vīsi* *vīsya* (with-*ā*)	*viśi*

Plural

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
N	*wik̂es*	*višas*	**vīsō* cp *spasō*	*viśaḥ* *spaśaḥ*
Ac	*wik̂n̥s*	*viśas*	*visō*	*viśaḥ*
(N-V-Ac)Nt	*pik̂ə*	*piši*	*paiθi*(= *pisi*)	—

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
D(–Ab)	*wiĝbhyos*	*vižbhyas*	*vižⁱbyō*	*viḍbhyaḥ*
G	*wik̂ōm*	*višām*	*vīsąm*	*viśām*
L	*wik̂su*	*viššu*	* *višu* cp *nāšu*	*viṭṣu*

228. Avestan z^1 (<IIr *ž*) stems (219D–a)

The following forms are attested in Av.

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
N	*werk̂–s*	*varšṣ̌*	*varš*	*vṛk*
Ac	*werĝm̥m*	*varžam*	*varᵊzəm*	*varjam*
D	*werĝai*	*varžai*	*varᵊze*	*varje*

Dual

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
N	*werĝe*	*varža/–āu*	*varᵊza*	*varjau*
G	*werĝŏu(s)*	*varžău(ṣ̌)*	*varᵊzå*	*varjoḥ*

Plural

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
G	*werĝōm*	*varžām*	*varᵊząm*	*varjām*

228a. Avestan z^2 (<IIr *žh*) stems (219D–b)

The following forms are attested in Av.

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
N	*bhṛk̂–s*	*bhṛš–ṣ̌*	*barš*	*bhṛk*
Ac	*bhṛĝh–m̥m*	*bhṛžh–am*	*bərəzəm*	*bṛham*
I	*bhṛĝh–a*	*bhṛžh–a*	cp *dərəzā*	*bṛhā*
D	*bhṛĝh–ai*	*bhṛžh–ai*	cp *mazōi*	*bṛhe*
G	*bhṛĝh–os*	*bhṛžh–as*	*bərəzō* (cp also *mazə* = *mazō*)	*bṛhaḥ*

Plural

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
I	*bhṛĝh–bhis*	*bhṛžh–bhiṣ̌*	*mazⁱbīš*	**bṛḍbhiḥ* (cp *saḍbhiḥ* <*sah–*)

CHAPTER XV

DECLENSION OF PLOSIVE STEMS

229. Avestan plosive stems may be broadly classified as velar stems (230), labial stems (231), and dental stems (232).

230. Avestan velar stems may be classified as *k* stems and *g* stems.

(a) *k* **stems** are of two types : (i) *k–* stems (e.g. *vāk–* 233), and (ii) *–ank* stems (e. g. *apāŋk–* 234).

(b) *g* **stems** are of two types from historical point of view : (i) g^1 stems <IIr *g* (235), (ii) g^2 stems <IIr *gh* (286).

231. Avestan labial stems are represented chiefly by *–p* stems (e.g. *ā̆p–*) (237).

232. Avestan dental stems may be broadly classified as Radical & Derivative.

(A) **Radical dental stems** are of three types : *t*, *θ* & *d* stems.

(a) *t* **stems** are of two types from historical point of view : (i) t^1 stems <IIr *t* (e.g. *bərət–*, *stut–*) (238), (ii) t^2 stems <IIr *th* (e.g *ast–*<IIr *asth–*) (239).

(b) *θ* **stems** <IIr *th* (e.g. *paθ–* <IIr *path–*) (240).

(c) *d* **stems** are of two types from historical point of view : (i) d^1<IIr *d* (e.g. *vid–*, *pad–*<IIr *vid–*, *pad–* (241) and (ii) d^2 <IIr *dh* (e.g. *šud–* <IIr *š̌ṣudh–* cp Skt *kṣudh–*, *vərəd–* <IIr *vr̥dh–* (242).

(B) **Derivative dental stems** are all *–t* stems. These are of three types.

(a) Derivative *–t* stems (e.g. *napāt–*) (243).

(b) *-tāt* stems (e.g. *ha^{u}rvatāt-*) (244)

(c) *-nt* stems : *-nt* stems are of three types : *-ant*, *-mant*, & *vant* stems.

(i) *-ant* stems are of four types ; (α) *hant-*type (with triple ablaut : *hant*, *hānt*, *hat*) (245), β) *fšuyant-*type (with double ablaut : *fšuyant-*, *fšuyānt-*) (247), (γ) *stavant-* type (with no ablaut; weak grade type) (246) and (δ) adjective *-ant* stems (248).

(ii) *-vant* stems (249) show triple ablaut (*vant-*, *vānt*, *vat-*).

(iii) *-mant* stems (250) show double ablaut (*mant-*, *mānt-*).

233. Declension of Avestan *vāk-* <IIr *vāk-* <IE *wōq^{w}-*

Since Skt & Gk show long grade in all forms, the short vowel in Av *vak-* (beside *vāk-*) may be an Avestan shortening and may not be an IE strong grade.

Forms attested in Av only are cited.

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
N	*wōq^{w}s*	*vākṣ̌*	*vāχš*	*vāk*	*ō̓ps*
Ac	*wōq^{w}m̥m*	*vācam*	*vācəm* *vācim*	*vācam*	*ôpa*
I	*wōq^{w}a*	*vācā*	*vaca*	*vācā*	
G	*wōq^{w}os*	*vācaḥ*	*vacō*	*vācaḥ*	*ôpos*

Plural

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
N	*wōq^{w}es*	*vācas*	*vacō*	*vācaḥ*	
Ac	*wōq^{w}n̥s*	*vācas*	*vācō* *vacō*	*vācaḥ*	*ôpas*
I	*wōg^{w}bhis*	*vāgbhiṣ̌*	*vaγž^{i}biš* (nom sg>stem)	*vāgbhiḥ*	
D	*wōg^{w}bhyos*	*vāgbhyas*	*vaγž^{i}byō* (nom sg>stem)	*vāgbhyaḥ*	

G	*wōgʷōm*	*vācām*	*vacąm*	*vācām*
L	*wōgʷsu*	*vākṣu*	cp *tutuxšva*	*vākṣu*

234. Declensiou ef Avestan *–aŋk–* stems

These stems express 'direction'. Forms attested in Avestan are cited.

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE
N	*apąš*	*apāŋᵏṣ̌*	*apāṅ*	*apōŋqʷs*
	parąš	*parāŋᵏṣ̌*	*parāṅ*	*perāŋqʷs*
	frąš	*prāŋᵏṣ̌*	*prāṅ*	*prōŋqʷs*
	paⁱtiyąṣ̌	*p(r)at(i)yaŋᵏṣ̌*	*pratyaṅ*	*p(r)ot(i)yaŋqʷs*
Ac	*–nyå̄ncim*	*nyañcam*	*nyañcam*	*nyoŋqʷm̥m*
	(<**nyancim*)			
	Length analogical			
I	*fraca*	*prācā*	*prācā*	*proqʷa*
	parāca	*parācā*	*parācā*	*perāqʷa*
	tarasca	*tr̥rašcā*	*tiraścā*	*tr̥rn̥sqʷa*
G	*hunaⁱryå̄ncō* 'skillful'	*su-naryāñcas*	cp *prāñcaḥ*	*suneryoŋqʷos*

Plural

N	*nyå̄ncō*	*nyañcas*	*nyañcaḥ*	*nyoŋqʷes*

235. Declension of Av. g^1 (<IIr *g*) stems

Forms are rare in Av.

sg Ac *zgəm* (cp Skt *vaṇijam*), I. *stija* (cp Skt *vaṇijā*)
pl G *zgam* (cp Skt *vaṇijām*),

236. Declension of Av. g^2 (<IIr *gh*) stems.

The forms attested in Av are cited.

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE
N	*druxš*	*dhrukṣ̌*	*dhruk*	*dhruqs*
Ac	g. *drujām*/*drujim*	*dhrujham*	*druham*	*dhrughm̥m*
	y. *drujəm*			

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE
G	g. *drūjō* y. *drujo*	*dhrujhas*	*druhaḥ*	*dhrughas*

Plural

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE
N	*drujō*	*dhrujhas*	*druhaḥ*	*dhrughes*
G	*drująm/* *družąm*	*dhrujhām*	*druhām*	*dhrughōm*

237. Declension of Avestan *p*- stems

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
N	*ōps*	*āps*	*āfš*	
Ac	*ōpm̥m*	*āpam*	*āpəm/apəm*	cp *tr̥pam*
I	*opa*	*apā*	*apā/apa*	*apā*
D	*opai*	*apai*	*ā̆pe/apaē-cit̰*	
Ab-G	*opos*	*apas*	G. *ā̆pō/apas-ca* Ab. *āpat̰* (182a)	*apaḥ*
L	*opi*	*api*	*apaya* (<**apiya* <*api*+*ā*)	cp *viṣṭapi*

Dual

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
N	*ōpe*	*āpa/āpau*	*āpa*	vd *āpā*

Plural

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
N	*ōpes*	*āpas*	*āpō*	*āpaḥ*
Ac	*ō̆p-n̥s*	*ā̆pas*	*ā̆pō/apas-ca*	*apaḥ*
I	*obbhis*	*abbhiṣ*	wanting	*adbhiḥ*
D	*obbhyos*	*abbhyas*	*aⁱwyō*	*adbhyaḥ*
G	*opōm*	*apām*	*apąm*	*apām*
L	*opsu*	*apsu*	wanting	*apsu*

238. Declension of Avestan Radical t^1 (<IIr *t*) stems

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
N	*bhr̥ts*	*bhr̥ts*	*–bərəs*	*–bhr̥t*
Ac	*bhr̥tm̥m*	*bhr̥tam*	*–bərətəm*	*–bhr̥tam*
I	*bhr̥ta*	*bhr̥ta*	cp *–mərəta*	*–bhr̥tā*

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
D	*bhr̥tai*	*bhr̥tai*	*-bərəte*	*-bhr̥te*
(Ab-)G	*bhr̥tos*	*bhr̥tas*	*-bərətō*	*-bhr̥taḥ*
L	*bhr̥ti*	*bhr̥ti*	cp *-cāⁱti*	*-bhr̥ti*
Plural				
N	*bhr̥tes*	*bhr̥tas*	*bərətō̌*	*-bhr̥taḥ*
Ac	*bhr̥tn̥s*	*bhr̥tas*	cp *stūtō*	*-bhr̥taḥ*
D	*bhr̥dbhyos*	*bhr̥dbhyas*	*bəredubyō*	*-bhr̥dbhyaḥ*
G	*bhr̥tōm*	*bhr̥tām*	cp *stūtąm*	*-bhr̥tām*

238a. IE *bhr̥t* is a Radical stem, since *-t* is root Determinative.

239. **Declension of Avestan Radical t^2 (<IIr *th*) stems**

cp Av *ast-* (<IIr *asth-* cp Skt *asthi* Gk *ostéon*) neuter, 'bone'.

Singular

	Av	IIr	IE	Lat
(N-V-) Ac	*as-ca*	*asth*	*osth*	*os* <**oss*
G	*astō*	*asthas*	*osthos*	*ossis*
Plural				
N-Ac(-V)	*asti*	*asthi*	*osthə*	*ossa*
I	*azdⁱbīš*	*azdbhiš*	*ozd(h)bhis*	
G	*astąm*	*asthām*	*osthōm*	

240. **Declensien of Avestan *θ* (<IIr *th*) stems.**

cp Av *paθ-* 'path'; the following are attested in Av.

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt
I	*paθa*	*pathā*	*pathā*
G	*paθō*	*pathas*	*pathaḥ*
L	*paiθi*	*pathi*	*pathi*
Plural			
Ac	*paθō*	*pathas*	*pathaḥ*
I	*padᵊbīš*	*padbhiṣ*	cp *pathibhiḥ*
G	*paθąm*	*pathām*	(vd) *pathām*

240a. Av *paθ–* is heteroclitically related to *pantan–*, *pantṛ–* cp Skt *path* : *panthan* : *pathi*.

241. Avestan d^1 (< IIr *d*) stems

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE	Gk
Ac	*pāδəm*	*pādam*	*pādam*	*pōdm̥m*	*póda*
I	*zərədā*	*žhr̥dā*	*hr̥dā*	*ĝhr̥da*	
D	*–šā̆ⁱδe*	*sā̆dai*	*sade*	*sedai*	
L	*bdi*	*bdi*	**bdi*	*bdi*	
			padi	*podi*	*podí*
Dual					
N	*pā`a* *paδō* (new formation)	*pād–a/–āu*	*pādau*	*pode*	*póde*
D	*pāδave* (<*pāδbya*)	*padbhyā(m)*	*padbhyām*	*podbhyō(m)*	
Plural					
N	*vīdō*	*vidas*	*vidaḥ*	*wides*	*pódes*
Ac	*šāδō*	*sādas*	*sadaḥ*	*sḗdn̥es*	*pódas*
D	*pa`ᵊbyasca*	*padbhyas*	*padbhyaḥ*	*podbhyos*	
G	*sarəδąm*	*šardām*	*śaradām*	*k̂erdōm*	*podôn*

242. Avestan d^2 (<IIr *dh*) stems

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE
Ac	*šuδəm*	*šṣ̌udham*	*kṣudham*	*k̂sudhm̥m*
I	*vərədā*	*vr̥dhā*	*vr̥dhā*	*wr̥dha*
G	*frādō*	*pra-dh-as* (< √*dhā*)	cp *vr̥dhaḥ*	*wr̥dhos*
L	*urūⁱδi*	*rudhi*	*rudhi*	*rudhi*
Plural				
N	*šuδō*	*šṣ̌udhas*	*kṣudhaḥ*	*k̂sudhes*

243. Avestan Derivative –*t* stems

cp Av *napāt–*. Skt *napāt*, Lat *nepōt* <IE *nepōt*. The Av nom sg form is *napå* instead of **napās* (cp *ha*^{u}*rvntās* 244), which may be an analogical remodelling. The following forms are attested in Avestan.

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE	Lat
N	*napå* (for *napās*)	*napāts*	*napāt*	*nepōts*	*nepōs*
Ac	*napātəm*	*napātam*	*napātam*	*nepōtm̥m*	*nepōtim*
G	*naptō*	*naptas*	wanting	*nep(ō)tes*	*nepōtis*
Plural					
L	*nafšu*	*nap*^{t}*su*	wanting	*nep*^{t}*su*	

243a. *napāt* is taken as a derivative stem inspite of the obscure root (Vide Macdonell : Vedic Grammar, p. 189; Brugmann : CGIGL Vol II. p. 390).

244. Avestan –*tāt* stems

cp Av *ha*^{u}*rva-tāt–*, Skt *sarvatāt–*.

Gk *holo-tēt–* <IE *solvo-tāt–*. Av often presents haplological forms in this declension.

Singular

N *ha*^{u}*rva-tās* (<IIr *sarva–tāts*), *ha*^{u}*rvås–ca* (haplological)

Ac *ha*^{u}*rva-tātəm* (<IIr *–tātam*)

I *x*^{v}*aētātā* (cp Skt *sarvatātā*)

D *yavaētā*^{i}*tē* (<IIr *–tātai*).

G *ha*^{u}*rva–tātō* (<IIr *–tātas*, cp Gk *hólotētos*).

Ab *iriθyąstātat̰* (182a)

L *amərətā*^{i}*tī* (<IIr *–tāti*, cp Skt *deva-tāti*), *uštatā*^{i}*tya* (<*–tāti*+*ā*).

Dual

N *ha*^{u}*vātā* (<IIr *–tāta*, haplological).

D *ha*^{u}*rvat̰bya* (<IIr *–tāt-bhyā(m)*, haplological)

G *ha*^{u}*rvatå* (<IIr *–tātău*, haplogical)

Plural

N *u^{x}šyąstātō* (IIr *–tātas* <IE *–tātes*)
Ac *uparatātō* (<IIr *–tātas* <IE · *tāt–n̥s*)
G *vaŋhutātąm* (<IIr *–tātām*)

245. Declensien of Avestan *-ant* stems.

(a) *hant–* **type** (<IIr *sant–*) *hant–* has three ablaut variations *hant– hūnt– hat* (<IE *sn̥t–*) (Vide 232 **B–c–i–**α)

The forms attested in Av are cited.

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE	Gk
N	*hąs* (*<*hūns*)	*sā̆nts*	*san*	*sō̆nts*	*ṓn*
Ac	*həntəm*	*santan*	*santam*	*sontm̥m*	*ónta*
D	*ha^{i}te*	*satai*	*sate*	*sn̥tai*	
G	*hatō*	*satas*	*sataḥ*	*sn̥tos*	*óntos*

Plural

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE	Gk
N	*hantō*	*santas*	*santaḥ*	*sontes*	*óntes*
I	*haδbīš*	*sadbhiṣ*	*sadbhiḥ*	*sn̥dbhis*	

246. Declension of Avestan *-ant* stems

(b) *stavat–* **type**

stavat– type shows weak grade through out, including N. sg. Av shows only N sg.

e.g. Av *stavas* <*stavats* <IE *stewn̥ts*

cp also Av *daθō* for **daθas* (after *s* stems) <IIr *dhadhats*
cp Skt *dadhat* <IE *dhedhn̥ts.*

247. Declension of Avestan *–ant* stems

(c) *fšuyant–* **type**

Long grade in N sg. & strong grade with the rest.

Singular

N *fšuyąs* (<IIr *–ānts* <IE *-ōnts* cp Gk *lū́ōn*)
Ac *fšuyantəm* (<IIr *–antam* <IE *–ontm̥m* cp Gk *tū́onta*)
D *fšuyentē* (<IIr *–antai* <IE *-ontai*)

G *fšuyantō* (<IIr *-antas* <IE *-ontos*, cp Gk *lúontos*)
Ab *t̰bišyantat̰* (182a)
L *družanti* (<IIr *-anti* <IE *-onti* cp Gk *lúonti*)

Plural

N *fšuyantō* (<IIr *-antas* <IE *-ontes* cp Gk *lúontes*)
Ac *fšuyantō* (<IIr *-antas* <IE *-ontn̥s* cp Gk *lúontas*)
I *γžarəγžarəntīš* (for IIr *-ant-bhiṣ* vide 192a)
D *γžārayat̰byō* (for IIr *ant-bhyas* after **stavat̰byō* 246)
cp *t̰bišyanbyō* (<**t̰bišyan*^{d}*byō*)
G *t̰bišyantąm* (<IIr *-antām* <IE *ontōm* cp Gk *lúontōn*)
L *fšuyasū* (for IIr *antsu* after **stavasu* 246)

248. Declension of Avestan adjective *-ant* stems

(d) *bərəzant-* type

Ablaut like *hant-* (245), but effected by analogy in several forms; N sg *bərəzō* has been influenced by *-s* stems (or by forms like *daθō* 246) and *maza* has been influenced by *n* stems.

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE
N	*bərəzō* (for **bərəząs* cp above)	*bhr̥žhā̆nts*	*br̥han*	*bhr̥ĝhōnts*
	maza (for *maząs* cp above)	*mažhā̆nts*	*mahān*	*meĝhō̆nts*
V	*bərəza* (after *a* stems)	*bhr̥žhant*	*br̥han*	*bhr̥ĝhant*
Ac	*bərəzantəm*	*bhr̥žhantam*	*br̥hantam*	*bhr̥ĝhontm̥m*
	mazəntəm	*mažhā̆ntam*	*mahāntam*	*meĝhō̆ntm̥m*
Nt	*mazat̰*	*mažhat*	*mahat*	*meĝhn̥t*
I	*bərəzatā*	*bhr̥žhatā*	*br̥hatā*	*bhr̥ĝhr̥ta*
D	*bərəza*^{i}*te*	*bhr̥žhatai*	*br̥hate*	*bhr̥ĝhr̥tai*
G	*bərəzatō*	*bhr̥žhatas*	*br̥hataḥ*	*bhr̥ĝhn̥tos*
L	*bərəza*^{i}*ntaya* (for **-antiya*)	*bhr̥žha(n)ti* (+*ā*)	*br̥hati*	*bhr̥ĝhn̥ti*

Dual

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE
N	*bərəzanta*	*bhr̯žhant-a/-āu*	*br̥hantau*	*bhr̯ĝhonte*
D	*bərəzanbya*	*bhr̥žhan^{d}bhyā(m)*		*bhr̥ĝhandbhyō(m)*
		bhr̥žhadbhyām	*br̥hadbhyām*	*bhr̯ĝhn̥dbhyō(m)*

Plural

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE
N	*bərəzantō*	*bhr̥žhantas*	*br̥hantaḥ*	*bhr̯ĝhontes*
G	*bərəzatąm*	*bhr̥žhatām*	*br̥hatām*	*bhr̥ĝhn̥tōm*

249. Declension of Avestan *-vant* stems

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE	Gk
N	g. *drəgvå*	*dhrughvānts*	*hastavān*	*-wōnts*	*kharíeis*
	y. *drvå* (g.y. *-å* for *ąs* after *vidvå* etc) (g. *drəg-* for *drug-* is a peculiar development of *u>ə*) *θwāvąs*				
V	y. *drvō* (after *vah-* stem)	*dhrughvant*	*hastavan*	*-wen*	*kharìen*
Ac	g. *drəgvantəm*	*dhrughvantam*	*hastavantam*	*-wontm̥m*	*kharíenta*
Nt	*zastavat̰*	*žhastavat*	*hastavat*	*-wn̥t*	*kharíen*
I	g. *drəgvātā* (for **-vatā*)	*dhrughvatā*	*hastavatā*	*-wn̥ta*	
D	g. *drəgvā^{i}tē* y. *drva^{i}te*	*dhrughvatai*	*hastavate*	*-wn̥tai*	
G	g. *drəgvatō*	*dhrughvatas*	*hastavataḥ*	*-wn̥tos*	*kharíentos*
Ab	y. *drvatat̰* (182a)				
L	y. *astvanti*	*asthvanti*		*-wonti*	*kharíenti*
	cva^{i}ti	*civati*	*hastavati*	*-wn̥ti*	

Dual

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE	Gk
N	y. *an-usavanta* 'the two without outlet'	*-vant-a/āu*	*hastavantau*	*-wonte*	*kharíente*

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE	Gk
D	y. *cvat̰bya*	*civadbhyā(m)*			
			hastavadbhyām	*–wn̥dbhyō(m)*	
	Plural				
N	g. *drəgvantō*	*dhrughvantas*	*hastavantaḥ*	*–wontes*	*kharíentes*
Ac	g. *drəgvatō*	*dhrughvatas*	*hastavataḥ*	*–wn̥tn̥s*	*kharíentas*
Nt	g. *miždavąn*	*miẓ̌davānt(i)*	*hastavanti*	*–wŏ́ntə*	*kharíenta*
I	g. *drəgvōd^{ə}bīš* (*–vōd–*<*–vad–* due to influence of IIr *–vas–*stems)	*dhrughvadbhiṣ̌*	*hastavadbhiḥ*	*–wn̥dbhis*	
D	g. *drəgvōdʼbyō* (*–vōd–* for *–vad–*)		*hastavadbhyaḥ*		
	y. *drvat̰byō*	*dhrughvadbhyas*		*–wn̥dbhyos*	
G	y *drvatąm*	*dhrughvatām*	*hastavatām*	*–wn̥tōm*	*kharíentōn*
L	g. *drəgvasū*	*dhrughvatsu*	*hastavatsu*	*–wn̥tsu*	

250. Declension of Avestan *–mant* stems

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE
N	*xratumå* *ratuma* (Av *å*, *a* for *ąs* after IIr *–as* stems)	*kratumānts*	*kratumān*	*–mōnts*
Ac	*gaomantəm*	*gaumantam*	*gomantam*	*–mentm̥m*
I	*gaomata*	*gaumatā*	*gomatā*	*–mn̥ta*
D	*vohuma^{i}te*	*vasumatai*	*vasumate*	*–mn̥tai*
G	*ratumato*	*r̥tumatas*	*r̥tumataḥ*	*–mn̥tos*

Plural

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE
N	*afrašīmantō*	*–mantas*	*–mantaḥ*	*–mentes*
I	*yātumat̰bīš*	*yātumadbhiṣ̌*	*yātumadbhiḥ*	*–mn̥dbhis*
G	*yātumatąm*	*yātumatām*	*yātumatām*	*–mn̥tōm*

CHAPTER XVI

PRONOUNS

251. Pronominal Declension

The pronouns are distinct from the nouns in the following features :

(a) Pronouns often form stems by combining one pronoun with another.

(b) They show quite a few distinct endings, which have been sometimes extended to nouns in individual IE languages.

(c) Heteroclitic stems are quite common in pronominal declension.

(d) There is no vocative.

The first and second personal pronouns are some what more distinct from the rest, in having no gender distinction. They both resemble each other so much that it is quite likely that they have influenced each other in inflectional forms. They differ from other pronouns in having special stems and endings and often the stems and endings cannot be perfectly analysed. Therefore they have been treated in the next two sections (252 & 253) even before the endings and stems of other pronouns are dealt with.

Most probably the third personal pronoun was not established in proto-Indo-European, as a result of which the IE historical languages have individually generalised one of the demostratives as the third personal pronoun. Avestan uses *a–/ayam–/di–* as the third personal pronoun.

252. Declension of the First Personal Pronoun

Singular

	Av	OP	IIr	Skt	IB	other lauguages
N	g. *azə̄m* y. *azəm*	*adam*	*ažham*	*aham*	*eĝ(h)om*	Gk *egṓ*
Ac	*mąm*	*mām*	*mām*	*mām*	*mē̆*	Gk *emé*
encl.	*mā*	*mā*	*mā*	*mā*	*mē̆*	Gk *me*
D	g. *ma*^{i}*byā*		*mabhya(m)*	*mahyam* (<IIr *mažhyam* 252a)	*meĝhyom*/ (?)*mebhyom* (252a)	Lat *mihi*
	g. *maibyō* y. *māvōya* (<**mā̆bya*)		*mabhyas* *mabhya(m)* (262a)			
Encl.	*mōi*	*maiy*	*mai*	*me*	*moi*	Gk *moi*
Ab	*mat̰*	*ma* (<**mat*)	*mad*	*mat* (*mad*)	*med*	Lat *me(d)*
G	*mana*	*manā*	*mana*	cp. *mama*	*mene*	OCS *mene*
Encl.	*mōi*,*mē*	*maiy*	*mai*	*me*	*moi*	Ht *me*
Dual						
Ac	g. *ə̄əāvā*		*āvā*	*āvām*	*ō*–*wō* (dual of *o*- + dual of *wo*–)	
G encl.	*nā*		*nā(u)*	*nau*, (vd)*nā*	*nō(u)*	Gk *nō*
Plural						
N	*vaēm*	*vayam*	*vayam*	*vayam*	*weyom*	Goth *weis* Ht *wes* <IE *weis*
Ac	g. *əhmā* y. *ahmā*		*asma*	*asmān*	*n̥sme*	Gk (Lesb) *ámme*

	Av	OP	IIr	Skt	IE	other languages
encl.	g. *nå*	—	*nās*	—	*nōs*	Lat *nōs*
	y. *nō*	—	*nas*	*naḥ*	*nos*	
D	g. *ahmāi*	—	*asmā̆i*	(vd) *asme*	*n̥smē̆i*	
	g. *ahma^{i}byā*		*asmabhya(m)*	*asmabhyam*	*n̥smebhyo(m)*	
encl.	g. *nə̄* y. *nō*		*nas*	*naḥ*	*nos*	
Ab.	*ahmat̰*		*asmad*	*asmat* (*asmad*)	*n̥smed*	Ht *antsedats*
G	*ahmākəm*	*ahmāxəm*	*asmākam*	*asmāka(m)*	*n̥smeqo(m)*	
encl.	g. *nə̄* y. *nō*		*nas*	*naḥ*	*nos*	

252a. gAv *ma^{i}byā*, yAv *māvōya* are traceable to IIr *mabhya(m)* and gAv *ma^{i}byō* is traceable to IIr *mabhyas*. These may be analogical formations after *ta^{i}byā*, *ta^{i}byō* (253). These may as well be original forms traceable to IE *mebhyo(m)*, *mebhyos* forms standing beside IE *meǵhi*, *meĝhyom*.

253. Declension of the Second Personal Pronoun

Singular

	Av	OP	IIr	Skt	IE	other Languages
N	*tū*		*tū̆*		*tū̆*	Gk *tú*, *sú*
	g. *tvə̄m* y. *tūm*	*tuvam*	*tuvam*	(vd) *tuvam*	*tuwom*	
Ac	*θwąm*	*θuvām*	*tvām*	*tvām*	*twē̆*	Gk *sé*
encl.	*θwā*		*tvā*	*tvā*	*twē̆*	Gk *se*
I	*θwā*		*tvā*	(vd) *tvā*	*twē*	
D	*ta^{i}byā*		*tabhya*	*tubhyam*	*tebhyo*	Lat *tibi*
	ta^{i}byō		*tabhyas*	(<IIr *tubhyam*)	*tubhyom*	
encl.	*tōi*, *tē*		*tai*	*te*	*toi*	Gk *toi*
Ab	*θwat̰* g. (also) *θwāt̰*		*tvad*	*tvat* (*tvad*)	*twed*	Ht *twedats*

	Av	OP	IIr	Skt	IE	other language
G	g. *tavā*		*tava*	*tava*	*tewe*	cp Gk
	y. *tava*					*teós* (possessive pronoun)
encl.	*tōi, tē*	*taiy*	*tai*	*te*	*toi*	
Dual						
G	*y^{a}vākəm*		*yuvākam*	*yuvāku* (*yuvayoḥ*)	*yuwē–qo–m/qu*	
Plural						
N	*yūš*		*yūṣ*	—	*yū̆s*	Goth *jū̆s*
	yūžəm		*yūẓam*	*yūyam* (after *vayam* 252)	*yū̆s–om*	
Ac encl.						
	vō, vå		*vā̆s*	*vaḥ*	*vō̆s*	Lat *vōs*
I	*x̌šmā* (253a)		*smā*	cp *yuṣmābhiḥ*	*smē* *yusmē*	cp Ht *sumet*
D	g. *x̌šma^{i}byā*	—	*smā̆bhya(m)*	—	*smebhyo(m)*	
	y. *x̌šmāvōya*					
	g. *yūšma^{i}byā*	—	*yušmabhya(m)*	*yuṣmabhyam*	*yusmebhyo(m)*	
	y. *yūšmaoyō*		*yušmabhyas*	—		
encl.	*və, vō*	—	*vā̆s*	*vaḥ*	*wōs*	Lat *vōs*
Ab.	g, *x̌šmat̰*	—	*smad*		*smed*	Ht *sumedats*
I.	y. *yūšmat̰*	—	*yuṣmad*	*yuṣmat* (*yuṣmad*)	*yusmed*	
G	g. *x̌šmākəm*	—	*smākam*	—	*smeqo(m)*	
	y. *yušmākəm*	—	*yuṣmākam*	*yuṣmāka(m)*	*yusmeqo(m)*	
encl.	*və, vō*	—	*vā̆s*	*vaḥ*	*wō̆s*	Lat *vōs*

253a. Av *x̌šma–* <IIr *sma–* <IE *sme–* is a generalisation of a reflexive stem *sme–* for second personal use. This stem has been

similarly extended in Hittite. Skt *ātman* 'self' used sometimes as reflexive in OIA & MIA has almost been used as second personal pronoun in NIA; cp Hindi *āp.*

254. Promiral stems

IE had several prominal stems. The following IE prominal stems are inherited in Avestan. These donot include the first and second personal pronouns which have been dealt with above.

i) IE *e-/o-*> IIr *a-*> Av *a-* (*ahe*), Skt *a-* (*asya*), Gk *e-*(*e-keînos*), Ht *a-*(*as*).

ii) IE *i-*> IIr *i-*> Av *i-* (*im*<*iyəm*), Skt *i* (*iyam*), Lat *i-* (*is, id*).

iii) IE *eno-*> IIr *ana-* > Av *ana-*, Skt *ana-*, Lith *anàs* OCS *onŭ.*

iv) IE *awo-*> IIr *ava*> Av *ava-*, Skt *ava-*, cp Lat *au-*, Ht *u-* etc (<IE *au-*).

v) IE *so-*> IIr *sa-*> Av *ha-*, Skt *sa-*, Gk *ho-*.

vi) IE *to-*> IIr *ta-*> Av *ta-*, Skt *ta-*, Gk *to-*.

vii) IE *sī̆-*> IIr *sī̆-*> Av *hī-*, cp Skt *sīm* (particle), Gk *hi-*.

viii) IE *di-*> IIr *di-*> Av *di-*, cp Skt *yadi* (adv).

ix) IE *imo-*> IIr *ima-*> Av *ima-*, Skt *ima-*, OP *ima-*.

x) IE *o-i-so-*> IIr *aiṣ̌a-*> Av *aēša-*, Skt *eṣa-*

xi) IE *o-i-to-*> IIr *aita-*> Av *aēta-*, Skt *eta-*

xii) IE *swo-* (<*so*+*wo*)> IIr *sva-*> Av *hva-*, cp Skt *sva-* (reflexive; Av demonstrative also).

xiii) IE *syo-* (<*so*+*yo*)> IIr *sya-*> gAv *hya-*, Skt (vd) *sya-*.

xiv) IE *yo-*> IIr *ya-*> Av *ya-*, Skt *ya-* Gk *hó-*(*hós*) (used as relative pronoun in IIr & Gk etc.).

xv) IE $q^{w}o$-/ $q^{w}e$-/ $q^{w}i$-/ $q^{w}u$- (used as interrogative)> Av *ka-/ca-/ci-/ku-/cu-* (after *ci-*), Skt *ka-/ca-/ci-/ki-* (after *ka-*)/*ku-*, Gk *po-/te-/ti-/pu-* (*hópui*), Lat *quo-/que-/qui-/cu-* (*alicubi*).

255. Prominal endings

The prominal case-endings differ to some extent from the nominal endings. But most of them so appear only due to meta-analysis of compound pronominal stems containing simple nominal endings; e.g. the ablative singular form *esmēd* actually contains the compound stem *e–sme–* and the nominal ending *–ed*; but this is meta-analysed as simple stem *e–* and the ending *–smēd*, because *–smēd* is found with several pronouns.

The first and second personal pronouns are not taken into account here, since they show considerably peculiar stems and endings and are already dealt with above.

SINGULAR

Nominative Masculine

i) Nil

Av *hā*<**ha* <IIr *sa*, cp Skt *sa*, Gk *ho* <IE *so*
Av *aēša* <IIr *aiṣ̌a*, cp Skt *eṣa* <IE *oiso*
Av *hāu* <IIr *sāu*, cp Skt *asau* <IE (*e–*)*so*+*au*
Av *avă̊* <IIr *avāu* <IE *avoā̊*+*au*

ii) *–s*

Av *yō* <IIr *yas*, Skt *yaḥ*, Gk *hós* <IE *yos*

iii) *–m*

gAv yAv *aēm* (g. also *ayə̄m*) <IIr *ayam*, Skt *ayam* <IE *eyom*

Feminine

i) nil Av *kā*<IIr *kā* Skt *kā* <IE *qʷā*
ii) *–m* Av *īm*<IIr *iyam*, Skt *iyam* <IE *iy–m̥m*

Accusative

Masc *–m* Av *təm*<IIr *tam*, Skt *tam* <IE *tom* cp Gk *tón*
Fem *–m* Av *tąm*<IIr *tām*, Skt *tām*<IE *tām* cp Gk *tā́n*
Neuter Nom-Acc *–t̰* <IIr *–d* <IE *–d*.

Av *tat̰* <IIr *tad*, Skt *tat* (*tad*)<IE *tod* cp Lat *istud*

Instrumental

Same as nominal endings (cp Av *yā*, *avā* etc.)
New OIr ending is *–nā*
Av *kanā* cp Op *avanā*.

Dative

Masc IE *–smēi* (< stem *sme*+*ai*)

Av *ahmāi* <IIr *asmāi*, Skt *asmai* <IE *esmēi* cp Umb *esmei*

Fem IE *–syāi* (<fem stem *syā*+*ai*)

gAv *ah'yāi* <IIr *asyāi*, Skt *asyai* <IE *esyāi*

Ablative

Masc IE *–smēd* (<stem *sme*+*ed*)

Av *ahmāṯ* <IIr *asmād*, Skt *asmāt* (*asmād*)<IE *esmēd*.

Fem IE ending was same as gen sg. (see next). But Av developed Fem abl also after Masc abl. cp Av *aiŋhāṯ* (=gen sg *aiŋhå*+Masc abl *ahmāṯ*)

Genitive

Masc IE *–syo* (orignally a pronominal stem with nil ending in nom sg, which became an ending by meta-analysis, and then it was further extended to nouns asvide genitive ending; (vide NLIECG p. 92–93).

gAv *ahyā* yAv *ahe* <IIr *asya*, Skt *asya* <IE *esyo*

Fem IE *syās* (originally pronominal fem stem *syā*+*s* ending like noun *ā* stems; this was also ablative sg fem but Av has developed a special ending in fem ablative; vide above ablative),

Av *aiŋhå* <IIr *asyās*, Skt *asyāḥ* <IE *esyās*

Locative

Masc IE *–smi(n)*. (*–smi* is an alternative form of IE pronominal stem *sme–*; *–smin* is found in Skt with *–n* extension).

Av *ahmi* <IIr *asmi*(*n*), Skt *asmin* <IE *esmi*(*n*).

Fem IE –*syā*(*m*) (–*syā* is a fem stem with nil ending as in Av, and –*syām* is with –*m* extension as in Skt) Av *aiŋhe* <IIr *asyā*(*m*), Skt *asyām* <IE *esyām*.

DUAL

The endings agree with the nominal dual endings.

PLURAL

Only nom masc & gen masc & fem have special endings in plural.

Nominative

Masc IE –*i* (extended to nouns in –*o* in some languages such as Gk & Lat).

gAv *tōi*, *taē-ca*, yAv *tē* <IIr *tai*, Skt *te* <IE *toi*, cp Gk *toí*, Goth *þai*.

Genitive

Masc IE –*sōm* (<stem *so*-+ending –*ŏ̄m*)

Av *aēšąm* <IIr *aiṣ̌ām*, Skt *eṣām* <IE *oisōm* cp Lat *istarum*

Fem IE –*sām* (<fem stem *sā*+*ŏ̄m*)

Av *åŋhąm* <IIr *āsām* cp Skt *āsām*.

256. Declension of Avestan *ayam*

ayam shows hetereclitic stems *a*–/*ima*–/*ana*–.

This is a demonstrative in Skt, but the third personal pronoun in Avestan.

Masculine Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	OP	IE
N g. & y.	*aēm*, g. *ayə̄m*	*ayam*	*ayam*	(cp *iyam*)	*eyom*
Ac	*iməm*	*imam*	*imam*	*imam*	*imom*
I	*anā*	*anā*	cp *anenā̆*	*anā*	*enō*
D	*ahmāi*	*asmāi*	*asmai*		*esmēi*

	Av	IIr	Skt	OP	IE
Ab	g. & y. *ahmāt̰*	*asmād*	*asmāt*		*esmēd*
	y. *ahmat̰*		(*asmād*)		
	(Late formation)				
G	g. *ahyā*	*asya*	*asya*		*esyo*
	y. *ahe, aⁱŋ́he*				
L	g. *ahmī*, y. *ahmi*,	*asmi*(*n*)	*asmin*		*esmin*
	ahmya	*asmi* + *ā*			
	Dual				
N(-Ac)	*ima*	*imā*(*u*)	*imā*(vd), *imau*		*imō*(*u*)
(I-)D(-Ab)	*ābyā*	*ābhyā*(*m*)	*ābhyām*		*ōbhyō*(*m*)
G	g. *ås-cā*	*āu*(*š*)			*ōu*(*s*)
	g. & y. *ayå*	*ayā̆u*(*š*)			*eyō̆u*(*s*)
	y. *anayå*	*anayā̆u*(*š*)	*anayoḥ*		*enoyō̆u*(*s*)
	Plural				
N	*ime*	*imai*	*ime*	*imaiy*	*imoi*
Ac	*imą*	*imāns*	*imān*		*imons*
	ime(<N)				
I	*āiš*	*āiṣ̌*	**aiḥ*	–	*ōis*
	aēibīš	*aibhiṣ̌*	*ebhiḥ*	–	*oibhis*
	anāiš	*anāiṣ̌*	**anaiḥ*	–	*enōis*
D(-Ab)	*aēibyō*	*aibhyas*	*ebhyaḥ*	–	*oibhyos*
G	*aēšąm*	*aiṣ̌ām*	*eṣām*	–	*oisōm*
L	*aēśu*	*aiṣ̌u*	*eṣu*	–	*oisu*
	aēšva	*aiṣ̌u* + *ā*			
	Neuter (N-Ac)				
	Singular				
	imat̰	*imad'*	(cp *idam*) *ima*		*imod*
	Plural				
	g. *imā* y. *imn*	*imā*	(vd) *imā*	–	*imā*
	y. *imå* (< fem pl)				
	Feminine				
	Singular				
N	*im*(<**iyəm*)	*iyam*	*iyam*	*iyam*	*iym̥m*
Ac	*imąm*	*imām*	*imām*		*imām*

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE
I	*aya*	*ayā*	(vd) *ayā*	*eya*
	g. *ōyā* (=*ayā*)			
D	g. *ah'yāi*; y. *a*^{i}*ŋ́hāi*	*asyāi*	*asyai*	*esyāi*
G	*a*^{i}*ŋhå*	*asyās*	*asyāḥ*	*esyās*
Ab	*a*^{i}*ŋhāṯ* (255)			
L	*a*^{i}*ŋ́he*	*asyā(m)*	*asyām*	*esyā(m)*
Dual				
(I–)D(–Ab)	*ābyā*	*ābhyā(m)*	*ābhyām*	*ābhyō(m)*

Rest not in Av.

Plural				
N–Ac.	*imå*	*imās*	*imāḥ*	*imās*
I	*ābīš*	*ābhiṣ̌*	*ābhiḥ*	*ābhis*
D(–Ab)	*ābyō*	*ābhyas*	*ābhyaḥ*	*ābhyos*
G	*åŋhąm*	*āsām*	*āsām*	*āsām*
L	g. *āhū*	*āsu*	*āsu*	*āsu*
	y. *āhva*	*āsu*+*ā*		

257. Demonstrative Pronoun *sa/ta–*

cp. Skt *sa–/ta–* 'he' Gk *ho–/to–* 'the'.

Masculine
Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE	Gk	other languages
N	*hā*, *hə̄*, *hō*	*sa*, *sas*	*sa*, *saḥ*	*so*, *sos*	*ho*	Ht *sas*
Ac	g. *tə̄m*, y. *təm*	*tam*	*tam*	*tom*	*tón*	Ht *tan*
I	*tā*	*tā*	(cp *tena*)	*tō*		
Dual						
N	*tā*, *tå*	*tā(u)*	*tā*(vd), *tau*	*tō(u)*	*tṓ*	
Plural						
N	g. *tōi*, *taę̄-cā*	*tai*	*te*	*toi*	*toí*	Goth *þai*
	y. *tę̄*, *taę̄-ca*					
	y. *tā* (<Nt)					

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE	Gk	other languages
Ac	*ta̰* *tē* (<N) *tå* (<dl or fem pl)	*tāns*	*tān*	*tons*	dlct. *tóns*	Goth *þans*
I	*tāiš*	*tāiṣ̌*	*talḥ*	*tōis*	*toîs*	
Rest not in Av.						
Neuter (N–Ac)						
Singular						
	tat̰	*tad*	*tat(tad)*	*tod*	*tó*	Goth *þata*
Dual						
	te	*tai*	*tai*	*toi*	cp *tṓ*	
Plural						
	tā g.(also) *tə̄ng* (<Ac pl masc)	*tā*	(vd) *tā*	*tā*	*tá*	
Feminine						
Singular						
N	g. y. *hā* g. (also) *hī*	*sā* *sī*	*sā* (cp *sīm*)	*sā* *sī*	(Dor) *hā*	Goth *sō*
Ac	g. y. *ta̰m* g. (also) *tə̄m*	*tām*	*tām*	*tām*	*tḗn*	
Plural						
N-Ac	*tå*, *tås-cā* *tā* (<Nt)	*tās*	*tāḥ* '	*tās*	*tás*	Goth *þōs*

258. Declension of *aēša–/aēta—*

Masculine
Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE
N	*aēša, aēšō*	*aiṣ̌a's)*	*eṣa(ḥ)*	*oiso(s)*
Ac	*aētəm*	*aitam*	*etam*	*oitom*

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE
I	*aēta*	*aitā*	(cp *etena*)	*oitō*
D	*aētahmāi*	*aitasmāi*	*etasmai*	*oitosmēi*
Ab.	*aētahmāt̰*	*aitasmād*	*etasmāt(-d)*	*oitosmēd*
G	*aētahe*	*aitasya*	*etasya*	*oitosyo*
L	*aētahmi*	*aitasmi(n)*	*etasmin*	*oitosmi (n)*
Dual				
N(–Ac)	*aēta*	*aitā(u)*	*etā* (vd), *etau*	*oitō(u)*
G	*aētayå*	*aitayă̄u(ṣ̌)*	*etayoḥ*	*oitoyŏ̄u(s)*
Plural				
N	*aēte*	*aitai*	*ete*	*oitoi*
(I–)D(–Ab)	*aētaēibyō*	*aitaibhyas*	*etebhyaḥ*	*oitoibhyos*
G	*aētaēša̱m*	*aitaiṣ̌ām*	*eteṣām*	*oitaisōm*
L	*aētaēšu* *aētaēšva*	*aitaiṣ̌u* *aitaiṣ̌u + ū*	*eteṣu*	*oitoisu*
Neuter (N–Ac)				
Singular				
	aētat̰ *aētəm* (<Mc Ac)	*aitad*	*etāt (etad)*	*oitod*
Dual				
	aēte	*aitai*	*ete*	*oitoi*
Plural				
	aēta *aētå* (<Fem)	*aitā*	*etā* (vd)	*aitā*
G. pl (nt)				
	aēiaŋha̱m (special form)	*aitasām*		*oitosōm*
Feminine				
Singular				
N	*aēša*	*aiṣ̌ā*	*eṣā*	*oisā*
Ac	*aētam*	*aitām*	*eṣām*	*oisām*

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE
I	*aētaya*	*aitayā*	*etayā*	*oitaya*
G	*aētayå*	*aitayās*	–	*oitayās*
	aētaŋhå	*aitasyās*	*etasyāḥ*	*oitosyās*
Plural				
N–Ac	*aētå*	*aitās*	*etāḥ*	*oitās*
D	*aētā*^{i}*byō*	*aitābhyas*	*etābhyaḥ*	*oitābhyos*

259. Declension of Avestan *ava–*

Beside Av, *ava–* is attested in OP; Skt also show *ava–* only in RV G–L dual *avoḥ*.

MASCULINE

Singular

	Av	IIr	OP
N	*avå*	*avāu* (<*ava*+*au* cp *asāu*)	
	aom < *avam*	*avam* (cp *ayam*)	
Ac	*aom*	*avam*	*avam*
I	g. *avā* y. *ava*	*avā*	cp *avanā*
G	*avahe*	*avasya*	*avahyā*
Plural			
N	*ave*	*avai*	*avaiy*
Ac	*ave* (<N)		
	ava(**avą*)	*avāns*	
I	*avāiś*	*avāiṣ*	
D	*avabyō*	*avabhyas*	
	avat̰byō, *avaδbyō*		
	(<nt stem *avat̰* + *byō*)		
G	*avaēšąm*	*avaiṣām*	*avaišām*
NEUTER			
sg.	*avat̰*	*avad*	*ava*
pl	*avå* (<fem)	*avā*	

FEMININE

Singular

	Av	IIr	OP
N	*avå*	*avāu*	*avā*(IIr *avā*)
Ac	*avąm*	*avām*	*avāṁ*
D	*ava^{i}ŋhāi*	*avasyāi/avasāi*	
Ab	*avaŋhāt̰*		
G	*ava^{i}ŋ́hå*	*avasyās*	

Plural

N–Ac	*avå*	*avās*	*avā*

Ac also *avaŋhå* (<gen sg)

260. Other minor demonstrative pronouns

A. The stems *i–*, *di–* & *hi–* are used in Avestan as enclitic pronominal forms declined in accusative only.

(a) The stem *i–*

sg mc–fem *im* <IIr/IE *im*, neut *it̰* <IIr/IE *id* cp Lat *id* Skt (particle) *it* (*id*).

Dual mc *ī* <IIr/IE *ī*

pl mc *is* <IIr/IE *ins*, neut *ī* <IE/IIr *ī*

(b) The stems *di–*

sg mc–fem *dim* <IE/IIr *dim*, neut *dit̰* <IE/IIr *did*, also nt *dim* <mc–fem.

pl mc *dī̆s*<IE/IIr *dins*, fem *dī̆s* <IE/IIr *dis*, nt *dī*<IE/IIr *dī-*

(c) The stem *hi–*

sg mc–fem *hīm* <IE/IIr *sī̆m*, neut *hīm* <mc–fem

dual mc–fem *hī* <IE/IIr *sī*, neut *hī* <IE|IIr *sī*

pl mc *hīṣ̌* <IE/IIr *sins*, fem *hīš̆* <IIr *sīṣ̌* <IE *sis*, nt *hīš̆* <mc–fem.

B. The reflexive pronoun *hva-* (vide 265) is also used as demonstrative in Av in nom sg mc :

Av *hvō* < IIr *s(u)vas* <IE *s(u)wos*

C. Av demonstrative *hāu* (<IIr *a-sāu* cp Skt *asau* <IIr *a-sāu*) is attested in nom sg mc (<IE *sōu* <*so*+*au*) and fem (<IE *sāu*<*sā*+*au*).

261. Avestan Relative Pronoun *ya-*

ya- (<IIr *ya-* <IE *yo-*) is used as relative pronoun in several IE languages like Skt, Gk etc.

Masculine

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE	Gk
N	g. *yə, yas-cā*	*yas*	*yaḥ*	*yos*	*hón*
	y *yō, yas-ca*				
Ac	g. *yəm, yim*	*yam*	*yam*	*yom*	*hón*
	y. *yim*				
I	*yā*	*yā*	cp *yenā̆*	*yō*	
D	*yahmāi*	*yasmāi*	*yasmai*	*yosmēi*	cp *hôi* (<IE *yōi*)
Ab	g. *yāt*	*yād*	(vd)*yāt*(*yād*) (conjunctive)	*yōd*	
	y. *yahmā̆t̰*	*yasmād*	*yasmāt(-d)*	*yosmēd*	
G	g. *yehyā*	*yasya*	*yasya*	*yosyo*	*hoû*
	y. *yehe, yeŋ́he*				
L	g. *yahmī,*				
	y. *yahmi*	*yasmi(n)*	*yasmin*	*yosmi(n)*	
	y. *yahmya*	*yasmi*+*ā*			

Dual

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE	Gk
N(-Ac)	*yā* *yō* (<sg)	*yā(u)*	*yā* vd, *yau*	*yō(u)*	*hṓ*
G	*yayå*	*yayā̆u(ṣ̌)*	*yayoḥ*	*yoyō̆u(s)*	

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE	Gk
Plural					
N	*yōi, yaē(-cā̆)* *yā* (<neut)	*yai*	*ye*	*yoi*	*hoį*
Ac g.	*yəng, yąs-cā*	*yāns*	*yān*	*yons*	*hoús*
y.	*yąm, yą*				
y.	*yōi* (<Nom)				
I	*yāiš*	*yāiṣ̌*	*yaiḥ*	*yōis*	
D	*yaēⁱbyō*	*yaibhyas*	*yebhyaḥ*	*yoibhyos*	
G	*yaēšąm*	*yaiṣ̌ām*	*yeṣām*	*yoisōm*	
y.	(also)*yąm*	*yām*		*yōm*	*hôn*
L g.	*yaēšu*	*yaiṣ̌u*	*yeṣu*	*yoisu*	
Neuter					
sg	*yat̰* *yas–ca* (<*yat̰+ca*) *yim* (<Ac Masc)	*yad*	*yat* (*yad*)	*yod*	*hó*
pl	*yā* *yąm*(<Ac masc) *yå* (<Fem)	*yā*	*yā* (vd)	*yā*	*há*
Feminine					
Singular					
N	*yā*	*yā*	*yā*	*yā*	*hḗ*
Ac	*yąm*	*yām*	*yām*	*yām*	*hḗn*
G	*yeŋ́hå*	*yasyās*	*yasyāḥ*	*yosyās*	*hês*
Ab	*yeŋhāt̰* *yeŋhāδa* (255 Ab)				
L	*yeŋhe*	*yasyā(m)*	*yasyām*	*yosyā(m)*	
Dual					
N	*yōi*	*yai*	*ye*	*yai*	
Plural					
N	*yå, yås-ca* *yā* (<Nt)	*yās*	*yāḥ*	*yās*	*haí*

	Av	II	Skt	IE	Gk
D	*yābyō*	*yābhyas*	*yābhyaḥ*	*yābhyos*	
G	*yåŋhąm*	*yāsām*	*yāsām*	*yāsām*	*hôn*
L	*yāhu*	*yāsu*	*yāsu*	*yāsu*	
	yāhva	*yāsu+ā*			

262. Declensien of Interrogative Pronoun *ka-/ca-*

IE interrogative pronoun was formed with *qʷo-* (fem *qʷā-*), *qʷe-*, *qʷi-*, & *qʷu-*, which became IIr *ka-* (fem *kā-*), *ca-*, *ci-* (also *ki-* after *ka-*), *ku-* (also *cu-* after *ci-*). IIr shows extensive use of *ka-/ca-* and traces of the declension *ci-/ku-*. Declension of Avestan *ka-/ca-* is shown in this section (262) and of Av *ci-/ku-* is taken up in the next (263),

Masculine

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE	other languages
N	g. *kə̄, kas-tē*	*kas*	*kaḥ*	*qʷos*	Lith *kàs*
	y. *kə̄, kasɔ–θwąm*				Goth *hʷa*
	(g. y. *kə̄=kō*)				
Ac	g. *kə̄m,*	*kam*	*kam*	*qʷom*	Goth *hʷana*
	y. *kəm*				
I	*kā, kana*	*kā, kanā*	*kena*	*qʷō/qʷē*	Goth *hʷē*
D	*kahmāi*	*kasmāi*	*kasmai*	*qʷosmēi*	Goth *hʷamma*
Ab	*kahmāt̰*	*kasmād*	*kasmāt* (*kasmād*)	*qʷosmēd*	
G	g. *kahyā* y. *kahe*	*kasya*	*kasya*	*qʷosya*	
	g. *cahyā*	*casya*		*qʷesyo*	Goth *hʷis*
L	*kahmi*	*kasmi(n)*	*kasmin*	*qʷosmi(n)*	
	cahmi	*casmi(n)*		*qʷesmi(n)*	

Plural

N	*kōi*	*kai*	*ke*	*qʷoi*	
	kaya	*kai+ā*			
Ac	g. *kə̄ng(=ką̄n)*	*kāns*	*kān*	*qʷons*	Goth **hʷans* (cp. *hʷanzuh*)

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE	other languages
I	*kāiš*	*kāiṣ̌*	*kaiḥ*	*qʷōis*	
D(-Ab)	*kēⁱbyō*	*kaibhyas*	*kebhyaḥ*	*qʷoibhyos*	
Neuter (N–Ac)					
sg	*kat̰*	*kad*	*kat(kad)*	*qʷod*	Goth *ƕa*
Feminine					
Singular					
N	*kā*	*kā*	*kā*	*qʷā*	Goth *ƕō*
Ac	*kąm*	*kām*	*kām*	*qʷām*	Goth *ƕō*
Plural					
G	*kaŋhąm*	*kāsām*	*kāsām*	*qʷāsām*	

263. Declension of the Intrrogative *ci–*

Av *ci*–(<IE *qʷi*) and *ku*–<IE *qʷu*. Av *cu*– is an analogical formation.

Masculine-Feminine

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE	Gk
N	*ciš*	*ciṣ̌*	*na–kiḥ* (vd) (*k*– analogical)	*qʷis*	*tís*
Ac	*cĭ̄m*	*cim*	*na-kĭ̄m* (vd)	*qʷim*	*tína*
I	*cī* (cp *cyaŋhat̰* = *ciy-aŋhat̰*)	*cī*		*qʷī*	
	kū	*kū*		*qʷū*	
	cū (analogical)				
Plural					
N	*cayō*	*cayas*		*qʷeyes*	
Neuter					
sg	*cit̰* *cis* (<masc–fem) *cĭ̄m* (masc–fem Ac)	*cid*	*–cit* (*–cīd*)	*qʷid*	

264. Declension of Indefinite Pronoun

The Indefinite Pronoun was formed in IIr by combining a particle *cid*, *ca*, or *cana* with an inflected Interrogative pronoun. Skt has practically one type of interrogative pronoun, viz. *ka*–, but shows three typas of Indefinite viz. *kaś-cit*, *kaś-ca*, *kaś-canaḥ*. Av has two types of Interrogative pronouns viz. *ka*– & *ci*– and shows two types of Indefinite viz. *kascǐt̰* & *cis·ca*.

A. Declension of Avestan *kascǐt̰*

Masculine

Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	IE
N	*kas-cǐt̰*	*kaš-cid*	*kaś-cit(-cid)*	*qʷos-qʷid*
Ac	*kəm-cit̰*	*kam-cid*	*kañ-cit*	*qʷom-qʷid*
I	*kā-cit̰*	*kā-cid*	cp *kenacit*	*qʷō·qʷid*
D	*kahmāi-cit̰*	*kahsmāi-cid*	*kasmai-cit*	*qʷosmēi-qʷid*
G	*kahyā-cit̰*	*kasyā-cid*	*kasya-cit*	*qʷosyo-qʷid*
L	*kahmi·cit̰*	*kasmi(n)-cid*	*kasmiṃś-cit*	*qʷosmi(n)-qʷid*
Neuter				
sg	*kat̰·cit̰*	*kat-cid*	*kac-cit*	*qʷot-qʷid*
pl	*kā-cit̰*	*kā·cid*	*kā-cit* (vd)	*qʷā-qʷid*
Feminine				
Singular				
N	*kā-cit̰*	*kā-cid*	*kā-cit*	*qʷā-qʷid*
D	*kahyāi-cit̰*	*kasyāi-cid*	*kasyai-cit*	*qʷosyāi-qʷid*
G	*kaŋ́hås·cit̰*	*kasyāš-cid*	*kasyāś-cit*	*qʷosyās-qʷid*

B. Declension of Avestan *ciš–ca*

Masc–Fem

	Av	IIr	IB
sg N	g. *ciš–cā*, y. *ciš–ca*	*ciṣ–ca*	*qʷis-qʷe*
pl N	g. *cayas–cā*	*cayaš-ca*	*qʷeyes–qʷe*
Neuter			
pl	g. *cī–cā*, y. *cī–ca*	*cī–ca*	*qʷī–qʷe*

265. Reflexive Pronoun

IIr reflexive *sva*–(<IE *swe*–)/*se*–(<IE *sa*–)>Av *hva*–/*χ^{v}a* & *ha*–. Av shows the following forms.

Dat y. *χ^{v}āi* <IIr *svāi* <IE *swōi* Skt *svāya*
D-Ab y. *huāvōya* <**h^{v}av^{a}ya* <IIr *svabhya(m)* <IE *swebhyom*
encl. *hōi*, *hē*, *še* <IIr *sai*, –*šai* <IE *sei* cp MIA *se*.

Besides Av also uses the demonstrative *a*– and the noun *tanū* as reflexive.

266. Declension of the pronoun *anya*– 'another'.

Av *anya*–, *a^{i}nya*–, <IIr *anya*– cp Skt *anya*–, OP *aniya* <IE *enyo*–; cp Lat *alius*, Gk *állos* <IE *alyos* 'another'.

Masculine
Singular

	Av	IIr	Skt	OP	IE
N	*anyō*, *a^{i}nyō*	*anyas*	*anyaḥ*	*aniya*	*enyos*
Ac	*a^{i}nīm*(<**anyəm*)	*auyam*	*anyam*	*aniyam*	*enyom*
G	*anyehe* *a^{i}nyehe*	*anyasya*	*anyasya*	*aniyahya*	*enyosyo*
Dual					
N	*anya*	*anyā u*)	*anyā*(vd), *anyau*		*enyō*(*u*)
Plural					
N	*anye*	*anyai*	*anye*	*aniyai·ciy*	*enyoi*
Ac g.	*anyāng* *anye* (<N)	*anyāns*	*anyān*		*enyons*
I	*anyāiš*	*anyāiṣ*	*anyaiḥ*		*enyōis*
D–Ab	*anyaē^{i}byō*	*anyaibhyas*	*anyebhyaḥ*		*enyoibhyos*
G	*anyaēšąm*	*anyaiṣām*	*anyeṣām*		*enyoisōm*
Neuter					
sg	*a^{i}nyat̰*	*anyad*	*anyat* (*anyad*)	*anya*	*enyod*

	Av	IIr	Skt	OP	IE
pl	y. *anya*	*anyā*	*anyā* (vd)		*enyā*
	g. *anyā-cā*				
	Feminine				
	Singular				
Ac	*anyąm*	*anyām*	*anyām*		*enyām*
	Plural				
N-Ac	*anyā̊*	*anyās*	*anyāḥ*	*aniyā*	*enyās*
	anyā̊sca				

CHAPTER XVII

NUMERALS

267. The Cardinal Numerals

One to Ten. IE had inflection of numerals upto four. IIr has extend impliction upto ten. *One* is inplected in sg, *two* in dual and the rest in pl.

(1) One. Av (g.y.) *aēva–*, (y.) *ōiva–* <IIr *aiva–* <IE *oiwo–*, cp OP *aiva* cp Gk *oîos* 'alone' cp Skt *eva* 'only' Skt *eka–* 'one' <IIr *aika–* <IE *oiqʷo–*.

Av shows the following inflected forms :

N (mc) *aēvō* (<IIr *aivas*), fem *aēva* (<IIr *aivā*)
Ac (mc) & neuter (N–Ac) *ōyum, ōium, yəm, ōim, oīm* (<**ōivəm* <IIr *oivam*), (fem) *aevąm* (<IIr *aivām*).
I (mc) *aēva* (<IIr *aivā*), (fem) *aēvaya* (<IIr *aivayā*)
Ab (mc) *aēvahmāt̰* (<IIr *aivasmād*. cp Skt *ekasmāt*)
G (mc) *aēvahe* (<IIr *aivasya*), (fem) *aēvaŋ́hå* (<IIr *aivasyās*)
L (mc) *aēvahmi* <IIr *aivasmi(n)*).

(2) Two. Av *dva–* <IIr *d(u)va–*<IE *d(u)wo–*, cp Skt *dva–* (*dvau*, vd *duvau*), Gk *duo*, *dō* etc.

Av shows the following inflected forms :

N (mc) *dva* <IIr *d(u)vā(u)*, cp Skt *d(u)vā, d(u)vau* Gk *dúŏ*
(nt) *dvaē-ca. duye* <IIr *d(u)vai* <IE *d(u)woi*, cp Skt *dve*
(fem) *duye* <IIr *d(u)vai* <IE *d(u)wai* cp, Skt *dve*, Lat *duae*
D (mc) *dvaēⁱbya* <IIr *dvābhyā(m)* <IE *dwōbhyō(m)* cp Skt *dvābhyām* (Av *–aēi̥–* as with *a*–declension)
G (mc) *dvayå* <IIr *dvayău(ṣ̌)* <IE *dwoyŏu(s)* cp. Skt *dvayoḥ*, OCS *dvejau*.

(3) Three. (mc–nt) *θray–/θri–* (<IIr *tray–/tri–* <IE *trey–/tri*, cp Skt *tray–/tri–*)/(fem) *tišr* (<IIr *tiṣ̌r* <IE *t(r)i–sr–*, cp Skt *tisr–*).

Av shows the following inflected forms.

N (mc) *θrāyō* <IIr *trăyas* <IE *treyes*, cp Skt *trayaḥ*, Gk *treîs*, Lat *trēs*

Ac (mc) *θriš* <IE/IIr *trins*, cp Skt *trīn* Goth *þrins*

(fem) *tišro, tišra* <IIr *tiṣ̌ras* <IE *tisr̥n̥s* cp Skt *tisraḥ*, OIrish *teoir* (Av *tišra* may owe its *–a* to G *tišranąm* etc.)

Nt (N–Ac) *θrī* <IIr *tri*, <IE *trī, triyə*, cp Skt *trī* (vd), Gk *tría*.

D (mc) *θribyō* <IIr *tribhyas* <IE *tribhyos*, cp Skt *tribhyaḥ*, Lat *tribus*

G (mc) *θrayąm* <IIr *trayām* <IE *treyōm* cp Skt *trīṇām*

(fem) *tišrąm, tišranąm* (new formation) <IIr *tisrām* <IE *tisrōm* cp Skt *tisr̥ṇām*.

(4) Four. (mc–nt) *caθwar–/catur–*(<IIr *catvar–/catur–* <IE *qʷetwer–/qʷetur–*)/(fem) *cataŋr–*(<IIr *catasr–* <IE *qʷetesr–*).

Av shows the following inflected forms.

N (mc) *caθwārō, caθwāras–ca* (<IIr *catvāras* <IE *qʷetwōres*, cp Skt *catvāraḥ* Goth *fidwōr*)

Ac (mc) *caturə̄* (=*caturō* <IIr *caturas* <IE *qʷetur–n̥s*, cp Skt *caturaḥ*).

(fem) *cataŋrō* (<IIr *catasras* <IE *qʷetesr–n̥s* cp Skt *catasraḥ*, OIrish *cetheora*).

Neut (N-Ac) *catura* <IIr *caturi* <IE *qʷeturə* cp Skt *caturi* (Av *–a* for *–i* after *a* stem nt pl)

G (mc) *caturąm* <IIr *caturām* <IE *qʷeturōm* cp Skt *caturṇām*, Gk *tettárōn*

(5) Five. *panca* <IIr *pañca* <IE *peŋqʷe* cp Skt *pañca*, Gk *pénte*, Lat *quinque*.

G *pancanąm* cp Skt *pañcānām*, Gk (Aeolic) *pémpōn*.

(6) **Six.** *χšvas* <IIr *s(v)ašṣ̌* <IE *s(w)ek̂s* cp Skt *ṣaṣ–/ṣaṭ* Gk *héks* (dlct) *wéks* Lat *sex.*

(7) **Seven.** *hapta* <IIr *sapta* <IE *septm̥* cp Skt *sapta,* Gk *hepta,* Lat *septem,* Goth *sibun.*

(8) **Eight.** *ašta* <IIr *aṣ̌ṭā(u)* <IE *ok̂tō(u)* cp Skt *aṣṭắ/aṣṭau,* Gk *oktṓ,* Lat *octō,* Goth *ahtáu.*

(9) **Nine.** *nava* <IIr *nava* <IE *newn̥.* cp Skt *nava,* Lat *novem,* Goth *niun.*

G *navanąm,* cp Skt *navānām.*

(10) **Ten.** *dasa,* g. *dasā*<IIr *daša* <IE *dek̂m̥,* cp Skt *daśa,* Gk *déka,* Lat *decem,* Goth *taíhun.*

Eleven to Nineteen were compounds of *one, two* etc. with ten. Out of these only *fifteen* and *sixteen* are actually attested in Av as cardinal numerals. The rest are reconstructed from ordinals, hence shown here with asterisk.

(11) **aēvandasa* <IIr *aivadaša* <IIr *aivadaša* <IE *oiwo–dek̂m̥,* cp Skt *ekādaśa.*

(12) **dvadasa* <IIr *d(u)vādaša* <IE *d(u)wōdek̂m̥* cp Skt *dvādaśa,* Gk *dṓdeka.*

(13)**tridasa* <IIr *tri-daša, trayazdaša* <IE *tri–dek̂m̥, treyezdek̂m̥,* cp Skt *trayodaśa,* Lat *trēdecim.*

(14) **catrudasa* <IIr *catru–daša, catur–daša* <IE *qʷetru–dek̂m̥, qʷetur–dek̂m̥* cp Skt *caturdaśa.*

(15) *pancadasa* <IIr *pañcadaša* <IE *peŋqʷedek̂m̥,* cp Skt *pañcadaśa,* Gk *pentekaídeka.*

(16) *χšvaš dasa* (for **χšvaž–dasa* perhaps after *χšvaš* 'six' or the uncompounded form generalised)<IIr *s(v)aždaša* (=*svašṣ̌* + *daša*) <IE *s(w)ek̂sdek̂m̥,* cp Skt *ṣoḍaśa* Lat *sex decim.*

(17) **haptadasa* <IIr *saptadaša* <IE *septm̥dek̂m̥* cp Skt *saptadaśa,* Gk *heptakaídeka*

(18) **aštadasa* <IIr *aṣ̌ṭādaša* <IE *ok̂tōdek̂m̥* cp Skt *aṣṭādaśa,* Gk *oktōkaídeka*

(19) **navadasa* <IIr *nauadaša* <IE *newn̥dek̂m̥* cp Skt *navadaśa*, Gk *enneakaídeka.*

Twenty to Ninety were formed with suffix *-sati* (<IIr *-šati* <IE *-km̥ti*), *-sat* (<IIr *-šat* <IE *k̂m̥t*), *-ti* (<IE/IIr *-ti*), affixed to the forms expressing two, three, four etc. The numerals 21 to 29, 31 to 39, 41 to 49 etc. were compounds of 20, 30, 40 etc with *one* to *nine.* Numerals from 20 on wards were declined like ordinary nouns.

(20) *vīsa^{i}ti* (<IIr *vīšati*)<IE *wik̂m̥ti*, cp Skt *viṃśati*, Gk (dlct) *wíkati*, also Av *vīsąs* after *θrisąs* etc.

(30) Ac. *θrisatəm* <IIr *trīšat-*<IE *trī(triyə)-k̂m̥t(ə)*, cp Skt *triṃṣat* Gk *triákonta*

(40) Ac. *caθwar^{ə}satəm* <IIr *catvār(i)šat-* <IE *q^{w}etwōr-(ə)k̂m̥t*, cp Skt *catvāriṃśat*, Gk *tettarákonta.*

(50) Ac. *pancāsatəm*, I. *pancasat̰bīš* <IIr *pañcāšat-* <IE *peŋq^{w}ēk̂m̥t(ə)*, cp Skt *pañcāśat* Gk *pentḗkonta.*

(60) Ac. *xšvaštīm* <IIr *š(v)aṣti* <IE *s(w)ek̂s-ti* cp Skt *ṣaṣṭi*, cp Gk *heksḗkonta* <IE *s(w)ek̂s(ə)k̂m̥t(ə).*

(70) Ac. *haptā^{i}tīṃ* (*-ā-* after *aštā^{i}tīm*)<IIr *saptati*<IE *septm̥ti*, cp Skt *saptati*, cp Gk *hebdomḗkonta* <IE *septm̥k̂m̥t(ə).*

(80) Ac. *aštāitīm* <IIr *aštāti* <IE *ok̂tōti*, cp Skt *aśīti* <IIr *ašiti* <IE *ok̂īti*, cp Gk *ogdoḗkonta* <IE *ok̂tōk̂m̥t(ə).*

(90) Ac. *nava^{i}tīm* <IIr *navati* <IE *newn̥ti*, cp Skt *navati*, cp Gk *enneákonta* <IE *newn̥k̂m̥t(ə).*

Hundred and thousand are also historical. Av shows also a form for 10 thousand.

(100) *satəm* <IIr *šatam* <IE *^{d}k̂m̥tom* (*<k̂m̥-to-m <dek̂m̥-to-m*), cp Skt *śatam*, cp OP *θata-(gu)*, Gk *he-katón*, Lat *centum*, Goth *hund*.

(1000) *hazaŋrəm* <IIr *sažhasram* <IE *sm̥-ĝheslom*, cp Skt *sahasram*, cp Gk *khellíoi* <IE *ĝheslyo-i.*

(10,000) *baēvan-*, *baēvar.* cp Av *baēvąn*, *baēvani* (nt pl), *baēvarə*, *baēvaranąm* etc.

568. Ordinals

(1st) *fratəma-* <IIr *pratama-* <IE *pro-tm̥mo-* (superlative <*pro-*'fore'), cp Skt *pratama-* (adv)/*prathama-*, Gk *prōto*

g. *pao*^{u}*ruya-*, y. *pao*^{i}*rya-* <IIr *pr̥̄vya-* <IE *pr̥̄wyo-*, cp Skt *pūrvya-*.

(2nd) g. *d*^{ai}*bitya-*, y. *bitya-* <IIr *dvitī̆ya-* <IE *dwitī̆yo-*; cp Skt *dvitīya-*, OP *duvitiya-*.

(rd) *θritya-* <IIr *tri-tī̆ya-* <IE *tritī̆yo-*, cp Skt *tr̥tīya-*, OP *s*^{r}*itiya-*, Lat *tertius*, Goth *þridya-*

(4th) *tū*^{i}*rya-*(cp also *āxtu*^{i}*rīm*)<IIr *kturya-*<IE *q*^{w}*turyo-*, cp Skt *tur(ī)ya-*.

(5th) *puxδa-* <IIr *pak-tha* <IE *pn̥q*^{w}*-tho*<*peŋq*^{w}*-tho-* (Av *-u-* for *-a-* after *tū*^{i}*rya-*), cp OHG **fumto-*(=NHG *fuft*) Gk *pémp-to-s*, cp also Skt *pañcatha-*

(6th) *xštva-* <*štva-* <IIr *(s)ṣ̌tva-* <IIr *saṣ̌tva-* <IE *s(e)k̂s-two-*, cp Skt *ṣaṣṭha-*.

(7th) *haptaθa-*<IIr *sapta-tha-*<IE *septm̥-tho-*, cp Skt *saptatha-* (vd).

(8th) *aštəmo-*<IIr *aṣ̌tama-*<IE *ok̂to-mo* cp Skt *aṣṭama-*

(9th) *naoma-*, *nāuma-* <IIr *navama-* <IE *newn̥-ms-*, cp Skt *ṅavama-* :

(10th) *dasəma-* <IIr *dašama-* <IE *dek̂m̥-ms-* cp Skt *daśama*, Lat *decimus*.

(11th) *aēvandasa-* <IIr *aivadaša-*, cp Skt *ekādaśa-*

(12th) *dvadasa-* <IIr *dvādaša* cp Skt *dvādaśa*

(13th) *θridasa-* <IIr *tridaša*, cp Skt *trayodaśa-*

(14th) *caθrudasa-* <IIr *caturdaša*, cp Skt *caturdaśa-*

(15th) *pancadasa-* <IIr *pañcadaša* cp Skt *ṣoḍaśa-*

(17th) *haptadasa-* <IIr *saptadaša-* cp Skt *saptadaśa-*

(18th) *aštadasa-* <IIr *aštādaša-* cp Skt *aṣṭādaśa-*

(19th) *navadasa-* <IIr *navadaša-* cp Skt *navadaśa-*

(20th) *vīsa̯stəma-* <**vīsastəma-* <IIr *vīsat*^{s}*tama-* cp Skt *viṅśa-*, *viṃśati-tama*—

(30th) *θrisastəma-*<IIr *trisat*^{s}*tama-* cp Skt *triṃśattama-*

269. Multiplicative

Once. *hakərət̰* <IIr *sakr̥t* <IE *su̯qr̥t* cp Skt *sakr̥t*, Gk *hâpaks*

Twice. *biš* <IIr *dviṣ̌* <IE *dviṣ̌* <IE *dwis*, cp Skt *dviḥ*, Lat *bis*, Gk *dís*.
bižvat̰ <IIr *dviṣ̌*+*vat*.
bisarəm <IIr *dvišaram* <IE *dwi-k̂r̥rm̥m*

Thrice. *θriš* <IIr *triṣ̌* <IE *tris*, cp Skt *triḥ*, Gk *trís*.
θrižvat̰ <IIr *triṣ̌*+*vat*
θrisarəm <IIr *trisaram* <IE *trik̂r̥rm̥m*.

Four times. *ca^ruš* <IIr *catruṣ̌/caturṣ̌* cp Skt *catuḥ*.

Six times. *xšvaš* <IIr *ṣ̌vaṣ̌-s* (like *dviṣ̌* etc.)
xšvažaya <IIr *švaṣ̌*+*aya* after *naomaya*.

Nine times. *naomaya* <IIr *navamayā* inst sg.
naosō <IIr *navašas* <IE *newn̥k̂os* cp Skt *navaśaḥ*.

CHAPTER XVIII

VERB

270. The Verbal System in Indo-European

The verbal system includes both finite and non-finite verbs. The finite verb is conjugated in different tenses, moods, voices, numbers and persons. The non-finite verb is either declined like a substantive as in case of participles or is of invariable inflection like an infinitive, which is actually a fossilized declensional form of a substantive.

The Indo-European finite verb has three tenses (present, aorist and perfect), five moods (indicative, imperative, injunctive, subjunctive and optative), two voices (active and middle), three numbers (singular, dual and plural), three persons (first, second and third) and two conjugations (thematic and athematic).

271. The Verbal System in Indo-Iranian and Avestan

The Indo-Iranian finite verb has inherited the Indo-European system fully, with a few innovations. The distinction (of thematic and athematic conjugation) is not fully preserved as the athematic first person singular ending *–mi* is also extended to thematic in Indo-Iranian, as attested in Sanskrit and Avestan. Avestan sometimes shows the thematic ending *–ā*, but Skt has fully replaced it by *–āmi*.

In Avesta the augment is very rare. The IIr endings *–masi* & *–vasi* (= Av *–mahi* & *–vahi*) are generalized in Av at the cost of IIr *–mas* & *–vas*, which are generalized in classical Sanskrit. The second and third personal dual endings are confused in Avestan.

272. Augment

Indo-European finite verb was characterised by an augment *e* (>IIr *a*>Av *a*) which was optionally prefixed to an imperfect, aorist or pluperfect to specially emphasize on the significance of the past tense and also probably to keep the form distinct from an injunctive. Avestan also shows the augment optionally just like vedic Sanskrit and Homeric Greek. But the augment is quite rare in Avestan. Some examples of augmented forms are cited below.

IE *ebhewom*> IIr *abhavam*> Av *abaom*, Skt *abhavam*

IE *ebhewet*>IIr *abhavat*> Av *abavat̰*, Skt *abhavat*

IE *epetet* >IIr *apatat*>Av *apatat̰*, Skt *apatat*.

But Avestan more aften shows unaugmented forms; e.g. Av *barəm* <IIr (*a*)*bharam* <IE (*e*)*bherom* cp Skt (*a*)*bharam*, Gk (*é*)*pheron*, Av *bavāma* <IIr (*a*)*bhavāma* <IE (*e*)*bhewome* cp Skt (*a*)*bhavāma*, Av *yazata* <IIr (*a*)*yažata* <IE (*e*)*yaĝeto* cp Skt (*a*)*yajata*.

273. Reduplication of Verbal Stems

Avestan shows reduplication of the verbal stems with the present, in the reduplicating class, the perfect, the pluperfect, as well as with the intensive and with the desiderative of the secondary conjugation.

Normally the initial consonant of a root is reduplicated, with a special reduplicating vowel. Sometimes the initial syllable of a root is reduplicated and sometimes the full root is also reduplicated with ablaut.

274. Avestan shows the following peculiarities of **the reduplicated consonant.**

(**a**) velars become palatals by law of palatalization, which is an IIr feature and paralleled in Skt; e.g.

Av *cakana* <IE *qeqone*>IIr & Skt *cakana*

Av *jaγāra* <IE *gĕgōre* >IIr *jā̆gāra*, Skt *jāgāra*

(b) the first consonant of an initial conjunct is reduplicated; e.g.

Av *susrušəmnō* <IIr *šušrušamnas*, cp Skt *śuśruṣamāṇaḥ*

Av *hišta*^{i}*ti* <IIr *s(th)išthati*, cp Lat *sistō*, Gk *hístāmi*, but Skt *tiṣṭhati*.

(c) If the initial sound is a primary vowel instead of a consonant, a long vowel comes out of the contraction of the reduplicated vowel and the radical vowel; e.g.

Av *åŋha* <IIr *āsa* (<*a-a-as-a*)<IE *ēse* (<*e-e-es-e*), cp Skt *āsa*.

Av *āδa* <IIr *ādha* (*a-a-adh-a*)<IE *ēdhe* (<*e-e-edh-e*), cp Skt *āha*.

275. The reduplicating Vowels

(i) IE *e* (with ablaut variations *ē*/NIL)>IIr *a* (*ā*/NIL), >Av *a* (*ā*/NIL), and was used with perfect, although it is also attested with the present sometimes.

Perfect :

IE *q–e–qon–e*>IIr *cakana*>Av *cakana*, Skt *cakana*.

IE *w–e–wō̆q*^{w}*–e*>IIr *vavā̆ca*>Av *vavāca*, Skt (vd) *vavāca*, beside Skt *uvāca* (<IE *u–wōq*^{w}*–e* with NIL),

IE *d–ē–dork̂–e*> IIr *dādarša*> Av *dādar*^{ə}*sa*, cp Skt *dadarśa*, Gk *dédork̂e* (<IE *d-e-dork̂–e*)

IE *dh–ē–dhr–ai*>IIr *dhādhrai*>gAv *dādrē*, cp Skt *dādhāra*, beside Skt *dadhre* <IE *dh–e–dhr–ai*.

Present :

IE *d–e–dō–mi*>IIr *dadāmi*>Av *dadąmi*, Skt *dadāmi*, but Gk *dídōmi* <IE *didōmi*.

(ii) IE *ĭ* was more frequently used with present, although it is also sometimes attested with perfect in IIr, to which it might have been extended later.

Present :

IE *s(th)isthāmi*> IIr *s(th)išthāmi*> Av *hištāmi*, Skt *tiṣṭhāmi*, Gk *hístāmi*.

Perfect :

IIr *cikaitr̥̄ṣ̌*>Av *cikōitərəš*, cp Skt *cikituḥ*.

(**iii**) *ŭ* is also found sometimes as reduplicating vowel, with perfect and present, mostly with roots having *u* (or *w*). This may be an IIr innovation, although paralleled outside (vide Misra : CGSGH p. 92).

Av *hušλ*^{v}*afa* (= **hušvafa*), cp Skt *suṣvāpa*.

Av *urūraoδa* (= **rūraoδa*), cp Skt *rurodha*.

(**iv**) No reduplicating vowel is found with intensive where either the full root is reduplicated or the first syllable is reduplicated.

Full root reduplicated :

IE *ĝheuĝheumi* > IIr *žhaužhaumi*>Av *zaozaomi*, cp Skt *johavīmi* (with -ĭ-).

IE *derdr̥ryēt*> IIr *dardr̥ryāt*> Av *dar*^{ə}*da*^{i}*ryāṯ*, Skt *dardiryāt*.

Initial syllable reduplicated :

IE *deideik̂t*>IIr *daidaiṣ̌t*>gAv *daēdōišt*, cp Skt *dedišat* (<IIr *daidišat*<IE *deidik̂et*).

IE *neinig*^{w}*eti* > IIr *nainijati*> yAv *naēniža*^{i}*ti*, cp Skt *nenikte* (<IE *neniq*^{w}*tai*).

276. New formations in Avestan

Due to peculiar phonetic changes and analogical modifications, Avestan shows several forms in reduplication, which have no historical justification; e.g. :—

yAv *šušyąm* for **cušuyąm*/**cašuyąm*, perfect optative <Av √*šav*/*šu* <IIr √*cyav*/*cyu*, Skt √*cyu*, cp Skt

perfect *cucyuve* < IIr *cucyuvai/cacyuvai* < IE *qʷeqʷyuwai*.

gAv *zazəntī* (for **hazəntī*) <IIr *sazžhanti* <IE *sezĝhontī* <IE √*seĝh*, IIr √*sažh*, Av √*haz*, Skt √*sah*; cp Gk *ískhō* <IE *sizĝhō*.

gAv *ciχšnusō* (for **ziχšnusō* <**zišnusō* <IIr *žižnušas*) and yAv *kuχšnvąnāi* (for **zuχšnuvąnāi* <**zušnuvąnāi* <IIr *žužnuvānāi* dat sg) <IIr √*žan/znā* <IE √*ĝen/ĝnō*, Skt √*jñā*, cp Skt perfect *jajñau* <IIr *žažnā* <IE *ĝeĝnō*.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PERSONAL ENDINGS

277. The Personal Terminations

IE had the following four sets of personal terminations. Each set was distinguished in active and middle.

(**i**) The primary endings, used with the present indicative. This is also optionally used with the subjunctive, which preferably uses secondary endings.

(**ii**) The secondary endings, used with the aorist, imperfect, pluperfect, optative and injunctive as well as the subjunctive which sometimes uses primary endings.

(**iii**) The perfect endings, used with the perfect indicative.

(**iv**) The imperative endings, used with the imperative mood.

Avestan more or less retained the IE endings. The following peculiarities may however be noted,

(**a**) Like Skt, Av has extended the athematic ending *–mi* to the thematic conjugation, but unlike Skt it has also retained the historical thematic ending *–ā* in several forms.

(**b**) Like OP, Avestan shows a special ending in subjunctive middle first person singular, viz *–ne* <OIr *–nai* cp OP *–naiy*.

(**c**) Avestan has confused the second and third personal dual endings.

278. Primary Active Endings

Singular

1st person

(i) Athematic IE *–mi*>Av *–mi*

IE *esmi*>IIr *asmi*>gAv *ahmī*, yAv *ahmi*, cp OP *a(h)miy*, Skt *asmi*, Gk (Lesb) *emmí*, Ht *esmi*.

(ii) Thematic IE *–ō*>IIr *–ā(mi)*>Av *–ā(mi)*

IE *–ō*>IIr *–ā*, but IIr sometimes shows *–āmi* for *–ā* due to influence of athematic. Skt has fully generalized *–āmi*, but Av shows both *–ā* & *–āmi*.

IE *bherō*>IIr *bharā(mi)*>Av *barāmi*, cp Skt *bharāmi*, Gk *phérō*, Lat *ferō*.

IE *(s)pek̂yō*>IIr *(s)paśyā*>Av *spasyā*, cp Lat *speciō*, Skt *paśyāmi*.

2nd person

IE *–si*>IIr *–si*>Av *hi*/**-ši*.

IE *bheresi*> IIr *bharasi* > Av *barahi*, Skt *bharasi*, Gk *phéreis*.

IE *es(s)i*>IIr *asi*>gAv *ahī*, yAv *ahi*, cp OP *ah(i)y*, Skt *asi*, Gk *eî*, (Homeric) *essí*.

3rd person

IE *–ti* >Av *–ti*.

IE *esti*>IIr *asti*>gAv *astī*, yAv *asti*, cp OP *astiy*, Skt *asti*, Gk *estí*, OCS *jestĭ*, Ht *estsi*.

IE *bhereti*> IIr *bharati*> gAv *bara^{i}tī*, yAv *bara^{i}ti*, OP *baratiy*, Skt *bharati*, OCS *beretĭ*, cp Gk *phérei*.

Plural

1st person

IE *mes(i)*>IIr *mas(i)*>Av *mahi*.

IE *smes(i)*>IIr *smas(i)*>gAv *mahī*, yAv *mahi*, cp OP *a(h)mah(i)y*, Skt (vd) *smasi*, cp Gk (Dor) *eimés*.

IE *bheromes(i)*>IIr *bharāmas(i)* (–*ā*– after *bharāmi*)> Av *barāmahi*, Skt (vd) *bharāmas(i)*, cp Gk (Dor) *phéromes*.

2nd person

IE –*the*>IIr –*tha*>Av –*ϑa* (*s–tha*>Av *s–ta*).

IE *sthe*>IIr *stha*>gAv *stā*, cp Skt *stha*, Gk *esté*.

IE *bherethe*>IIr *bharatha*> Av **baraϑa* (cp gAv *išaϑā* <IIr *iṣatha* <IE *isethe*), Skt *bharatha*, Gk *phérete* (Gk generalized –*te*< secondary).

3rd person

IE –*enti*/–*nti*/–*n̥ti*> IIr –*anti*/–*nti*/–*ati*> Av -*a^{i}nti*/-*ənti*/ -*nti*/*a^{i}ti*.

IE *senti*> IIr *santi* > gAv *hənti*, yAv *hənti*, cp OP *ha(n)tiy*, Skt *santi*, Gk (Dor) *entí*.

IE *bheronti*> IIr *bharanti*> Av *barənti*, cp Skt *bharanti*, OP *bara(n)tiy*, Gk (Dor) *phéronti*.

IE *dhidhn̥ti*/*dhedhn̥ti*>IIr *dhadhati*>gAv *dada^{i}ti*, cp Skt *dadhati*, Gk (Dor) *títhenti*.

Dual

1st person

IE *wes(i)*>IIr *vas(i)*>Av *vahi*.

IE *uk̂wes(i)*>IIr *ušvas(i)*>gAv *usvahī*, cp Skt *svaḥ* <IIr *svas(i)* <IE *swes(i)*.

2nd and 3rd person

These were not distinguished in Av, partly due to phonetic changes and partly due to lack of frequency of the forms in the language.

2nd person IE –*thes* (>IIr –*thas*) & 3rd person IE –*tes* (>IIr –*tas*)>Av –*tō*.

IE *sthes*/*stes*>IIr *sthas*/*stas*>Av (3rd person) *stō*, cp Skt (2nd) *sthaḥ*, (3rd) *staḥ*.

IE *bherethes/bherėtes*> IIr *bharathas/bharatas*>Av (3rd) *baratō*, cp Skt (2nd) *bhárathaḥ*, (3rd) *bharataḥ*.

279. The Primary Middle Endings

Singular

1st person

IE *–ai* (or IE *–mai* as in Gk)>IIr *–ai*>Av *–e*.

IE *yaĝai*> IIr *yažai*>Av *yaze*, cp Skt *yaje*, cp also Gk *phéromai*.

2nd person

IE *–sai*>IIr *–sai*>Av *–he*.

IE *pṛ(k̂)sk̂esai*>IIr *pṛšsasai*>Av *pərəsahe*, Skt *pṛcchase*, cp Gk *phéreai*.

3rd person

IE *–tai*>IIr *–tai*>Av *–te*.

IE *yaĝetai*> IIr *yažatai*> gAv *yaza*^{i}*tē*, yAv *yazaite*, cp Skt *yajate* cp also Gk *phéretai*.

Plural

1st person

IE *–medhai*> IIr *–madhai*>Av *–ma*^{i}*de*.

IE *yaĝomedhai*>IIr *yažāmadhai* (*–ā–* after *bharāmi*)> gAv *yazama*^{i}*dē*, yAv *yazama*^{i}*de*, cp Skt *yajāmahe*, cp Gk *pherometha* (with secondary ending generalized).

2nd person

IE *–dhwai*>IIr *–dhvai*>Av *duyē*.

IE *yaĝodhwai*>IIr *yažàdhvai*>Av **yazaduye*, cp gAv *mərəngəduyē* (√*marək* 'destroy') (<IIr *mṛŋgdhvai*), cp Skt *yajadhve*.

3rd person

(i) IE *–entai/–ntai/–n̥tai*> IIr *–antai/ntai/–atai*> Av *–a*^{i}*nte/–ənte/–ate*.

IE *yaĝontai*>IIr *yažantai*>Av *yaza^{i}nte, cp gAv *haca^{i}ntē*, yAv *barənte*, cp Skt *yajante*, Gk *phérontai*.

(ii) IE -*rai*>IIr –*rai*> Av –*ve*.

IE *k̂eirai*>IIr *šairoi*>Av *sōire*, cp Skt *śere*, Ht *esḫari* (CGSGH 152).

Dual

The first person IE –*wedhai*> IIr –*vadhai*> Skt –*vahe* and it should have become Av * *va^{i}de*, but not attested in Av. The 2nd person (IE athematic –*ā^{x}thai*, thematic -*ithai*) and the 3rd person (IE athematic -*ā^{x}tai*, thematic –*itai*) have merged in Av, although distinct in Skt (cp Skt 2nd –*āthe*, –*ithe* & 3rd –*āte*, -*ite*). The forms attested in Av are actually of the 3rd person.

IE (3rd thematic) *pr̥(k̂)sk̂e-itai*> IIr *pr̥š̆šaitai*> gAv *pərəsaētē*, Skt *pr̥cchete*.

IE (2nd thematic) *woine-ithai*> IIr *vainaithai*> yAv *vaēnōithe*. Skt (2nd) *venethe*.

IE (3rd athematic) *wl̥nw-ā^{x}tai*> IIr *vr̥nvātai*> gAv *vərənva^{i}tē*, cp Skt *vr̥ṇvāte*.

280. Secondary Active Endings

Singular

1st person

IE –*m* (after vowels)/-*m̥*(*m*) (after consonants)> IIr -*m*/-*am*>Av -*m*/-*əm* cp Ski -m/-*am* Gk -*n*/-*a*; IE -*m̥* & -*m̥m* after consonants might have occurred respectively after light & heavy syllables, but Gk generalized -*m̥*; IIr generalized -*m̥m*).

IE (*e*)*bherom*> IIr *abharam*>Av *barəm*, OP *abaram*, Skt *abharam*, Gk *épheron*.

IE (*e*)*derk̂-m̥m*>IIr (*a*)*daršam*>Av *darəsəm*, Skt *adarśam*, cp Gk *édrakon*.

2nd person

IE -s> IIr -*s*/-*ṣ̌* >OIr -*h*/-*š̆*>Av *a* (OIr *ah*), å (< OIr *āh*), *š̆*.

IE (*e*)*pr̥*(*k̂*)*sk̂es*>IIr (*a*)*pr̥š̌šas*>OIr (*a*)*pr̥sah*>Av *pərəsō*, Skt *apr̥cchaḥ*, cp Gk *épheres*.

IE (*e*)*dhēs*> IIr (*a*)*dhās*>OIr (*a*)*dūh*>Av *dā̊* Skt *adhāḥ*, OP *adā* cp Gk *éthēkas*.

3rd person

IE *–t*>IIr *–t*<>Av *t̰*/*t*

IE (*e*)*bheret*>IIr (*a*)*bharat*>Av *barat̰*, Skt *abharat*, OP *abara*, Gk *éphere*.

IE (*e*)*gʷm̥̄t*>IIr (*a*)*gāt*>Av *gāt̰*, Skt *agāt*, Gk *ébē*.

Plural

1st person

IE *–me*>IIr *–ma*>Av *–ma*.

IE (*e*)*bhewome*>IIr *abhavāma* (*–ā–* after *bhavāmi*)> Av *bavāma*, Skt *abhavāma* cp Gk *ephéromen*.

IE (*e*)*dhēme*>IIr (*a*)*dhāma*>gAv *adāmā*, Skt *adhāma* cp Gk *éthemen*.

2nd person

IE *–te*>IIr *–ta*>Av *–ta*.

IE (*e*)*gʷm̥sk̂ete*> IIr (*a*)*gaš̌šata*> gAv *jasatā*, Skt (*a*)*gacchata*, cp Gk (Impv) *báskete*.

IE (*e*)*dhēte*>IIr (*a*)*dhāta*>gAv *dātā*, Skt (*a*)*dhāta*, Gk *éthete*.

3rd person

(i) IE *–nt*/*–n̥t*>IIr *–nt*/*–at*>Av *–n*/*at̰*.

(ii) IE *r̥r*>IIr *r̥r*>Av *–ar* (cp Skt *–uḥ* <*–ur*).

IE (*e*)*bheront*>IIr (*a*)*bharant*>Av *barən*, Skt (*a*)*bharan*, Gk *épheron*.

IE (*e*)*did–n̥t*/(*e*)*ded–n̥t*> IIr (*a*)*dadat̰*> Av *dadat̰*, Skt (*a*)*dadat*, Gk *edídou*.

IE (*e*)*dh–r̥r*> IIr (*a*)*dh–r̥r*> Av *darə*, Skt *adhuḥ*, cp Ht *eser*.

Dual

1st person

IE *-we*>IIr *-va*>Av *-va.*

IE *(e)g*^{w}*īwowe*> IIr *(a)jīvāva* (*-ā-* after *jīvāmi*)> Av *jvāva,* cp Skt *(a)jīvāva.*

2nd & 3rd person not distinguished in Av.

Out of IIr endings 2nd person *-tam* (<IE *-tom*) & 3rd person *-tām* (<IE *-tām*), Av shows *-təm* (< *tam*).

IE (*e g*^{w}*m̥sk̂etom*>IIr *(a)gaššatam* (2nd pers)>Av *jasatəm* cp Skt *agacchatam.*

281. Secondary Middle Endings

Singular

1st person

(i) IE *-i*>IIr *-i*>Av *-i* cp Skt *-i*

(ii) IE *-o*>IIr *-a*>Av *-a,* Skt *-a,* Ht *-ḫa.* In IIr (=Av & Skt) *-i* is the normal secondary ending, and *-a* is used only with the optative but in Hittite *ḫa* (= IIr *a*) is the only secondary ending (vide CGSGH, p. 102).

IE *(e)bhero i*>IIr *(a)bhara-i*>Av *ba*^{i}*re,* Skt *(a)bhare,* cp OP *ayadaiy* (=Av *ayaze* Skt *ayaje*).

IE *aug-i* (*ēugi*)>IIr *ā̆uji*>gAv *aojī* cp Skt *āsi* (<IE *ēs-i*).

IE (opt) *bhere-iy-o*> IIr *bharaiya*> cp Av (opt) *haXšaya,* Skt *bhareya,* cp Ht *esḫa.*

2nd person

IE *-so*> IIr *-sa*> OIr *-ha*> Av *-ha/-ŋha/-ša* cp Gk *-o* (<*-*ho*) cp Skt *thāḥ* <IIr *thās* <IE *thēs.*

IE *(e)ĝn̥̄ye-so*>IIr *(e)žā̆yasa* > Av *zayaŋha* cp Gk *ephéreo,* cp also Skt *ajūyathāḥ* (<IIr *ažāyathās* <IE *eĝn̥̄ye-thēs*).

3rd person

IE *-to*>IIr *-ta*>Av *-ta.*

IE *(e)yaĝeto*>IIr *(a)yažata*>Av *yazata,* Skt *(a)yajata,* Gk *ephéreto.*

Plural

1st person

IE *–medhə*> IIr *–madhi*> gAv *–ma^{i}di*, yAv *–ma^{i}δi*, Skt *–mahi* Gk *–metha.*

IE *(e)wl̥medhə*>IIr *(a)vr̥madhi*> gAv *varəma^{i}dī*, cp Skt *āsmahi*, Gk *hêmetha*

2nd person

IE *–dhwom*>IIr *–dhvam*> gAv *–dūm*, yAv *–δwəm*, Skt *–dhvam*, cp Ht *–duma* (**dum*).

IE *dhēreyedhwom*>IIr *dhārayadhvam*> yAv *dārayaδwəm*, cp gAv *syōdūm*, Skt *dhārayadhvam* cp Ht *estuma* (= *ezduma*).

3rd person

IE *–ento/–nto/–n̥to*>IIr *–anta/–nta/–ata*> Av *–anta/–nta/–ata.*

IE *(e)yaĝonto*> IIr *(a)yažanta*> Av *yazənta*, Skt *ayajanta*, cp OP *abara(n)ta*, Gk *epheronto.*

IE *(e)weln̥to*>IIr *(a)varata*> gAv *varatā*, cp Skt *āsata*, OP *āha(n)ta*, Gk (Hom) *héato* <IE *ēsn̥to.*

Dual

1st person

IE *wedhə*>IIr *vadhi*> gAv *va^{i}dī*, Skt *vahi.*

IE *ēswedhə*>IIr *āsvadhi*> cp gAv *dva^{i}dī* (<**du-va^{i}dī*< √*dav* 'press, oppress') Skt *āsvahi.*

2nd & 3rd person

The 2nd and 3rd personal dual forms have merged in Av. Skt shows 2nd personal athematic *–āthām*, thematic *–ithām* and 3rd person athematic *–ātām*, thematic *–itām*, which might be presenting the original IIr & IE endings. Avestan, however, presents *–ātəm*, *–itəm*, as well as *–iϑe* partly disregarding the thematic & athematic distribution as well. All attested forms in Av are in 3rd person. cp Av *jasaētəm*, *asrvātəm*, *da^{i}δitəm*, *zayōiϑe.*

282. The Perfect Endings

Active Endings

Singular

1st person

IE *-a*>IIr *-a*>Av *-a*.

IE *woid–a*>IIr *vaida*> gAv *vaedā*, yAv *vaēδa*, cp Skt *veda*, Gk *oîda*.

IE *dĕ̄dork̂–a*>IIr *dă̄darša*>Av *dādar^{ə}sa*, cp Skt *dadarśa*, Gk *dédorka*.

2nd person

IE *–tha*>IIr *–tha*>Av *–^{ə}a* (*–ta* after *s–*).

IE *woid–tha*>IE *woit^{s}tha*>IIr *vait^{s}tha*> gAv *vōistā*, cp Skt *vetha*, Gk *oîstha*.

IE *dedōtha*>IIr *dadātha*> gAv *dadāθā*, yAv *dadāθa*, Skt *dadātha*.

3rd person

IE *–e*>IIr *–a*>Av *–a*, cp Skt *–a*, Gk *e*.

IE *woid–e*>IIr *vaida*>gAv *vaēdā*, yAv *vaēδa*, Gk *oîde*.

IE *dedō+e*> IE *dedō*> IIr *dadā*> yAv *daδa*, cp Skt *dadau*.

Plural

1st person

IE *–me*>IIr *–ma*>Av *–ma*.

IE *wid-me*>IIr *vidma*> cp Av *didvīšma*, Skt *vidma*, Gk *ídmen*.

2nd person

IE ?, IIr *–a*>Av *–a* (Brugmann CGIGL : IV p. 402) (also Av *–^{ə}a*<sg which Reichelt takes to be the only ending), Skt *–a* cp Gk *–te* (<secondary).

IE ?, IIr *vida(sasāṇa)*>Av *haŋhāna* (√han give, earn), (cp also gAv *vaorāzaθā*), Skt *vida*, cp Gk *íste*.

3rd person

IE *r̥̥r(s)*>IIr̂ *r̥r(š)*>Av *ar^{ə}(š)*, Skt *ur*.

IE *wid-r̥r*>IIr *vidr̥r*> yȦv *vi˜ar^{ə}*, cp Av *cikōitər^{ə}š*, Skt *viduḥ* (= *vidur*), *ciketuḥ*.

Dual

1st & 2nd person

are not attested in Av.

3rd person

IIr *ăt̥r̥r* >Av *ătarə* Skt *atuḥ*.

IE *wid-ă¨tr̥r*<IIr *vidătr̥r*>cp Av *vāver^{ə}zūtarə* Skt *vidatuḥ*.

Middle Endings

Only 1st person sg, and 3rd person sg, pl & dual are attested in Avestan.

Singular

1st person

IE *-ai*>IIr *-ai*>Av *-e*.

IE *k̂uk̂luwai* (or *k̂ek̂l̥uwai*)>IIr *šušruvai*>Av *susruye*, cp Skt *śuśruve*.

3rd peason

IE *-ei* (?) > IIr *-ai*>Av *-e*.

IE *dedei*>IIr *dadai*>Av *da^{i}δe*, Skt *dade*.

Plural

3rd person

IE *-r̥rai*>IIr *-r̥rai*>Av *-are*, Skt *-ire*.

IE *q̯ʷəqr-r̥rai*>IIr *căkr-r̥rai*>Av *cāxrare* Skt *cakrire*.

Dual

3rd person

IE *-ḁ̄ˣtai*>IIr *-ātai*>Av *-āte*,

IIr *mamnātai*>Av *mamanā^{i}te* cp Skt *cakrāte*.

283. Imperative Endings

The imperative endings are found in 2nd & 3rd persons in active and middle. Avestan does not show the dual endings and 2nd person plural endings. The 3rd person plural ending *-əntō* may be a new formation in Av or may be from IIr *-antau*.

Active Endings

Singular

2nd person

(i) NIL

IE *bhere*>IIr *bhara*> Av *bara*, OP *barā*, Skt *bhara*, Gk *phére*.

(ii) IE *-dhi*>IIr *-dhi*>Av *-dī̆/-δi*, Skt *-dhi/-hi*, Gk *-thi*.

IE *(e)zdhi*>(√*es*+*dhi*)>IIr *(a)zdhi*>Av *zdi*, cp Skt *edhi* (<**az-dhi*), Gk *ísthi*.

IE *idhi*>IIr *idhi*>gAv *idi*, yAv *iδi*, Skt *ihi*, OP *-idiy*, Gk *íthi*.

3rd person

IE *-tu*>IIr *-tū*>Av *tū̆*, Skt *tu*, Ht *tu*

IE *bheretu*>IIr *bharatu*> Av *baratu*, OP *baratuv*, Skt *bharatu*, cp Ht *saratu*.

IE *estu*>IIr *astu*>Av *astū*, Skt *astu*, Ht *estu*.

Plural

3rd person

IE *(e)ntu*>IIr *(a)ntu*> Av *-(e)ntu*, Av *əntō* (Av *əntō* may be <IIr *-antau*).

IE *sentu*>IIr *santu*>gAv *hə̄ntū* (also cp gAv *hə̄ntō*), Skt *santu*, Ht *esantu*.

IE *bherentu*>IIr *bharantu*>Av *barəntu*, Skt *bharantu*.

Middle Endings

Singular

2nd person

IIr *-sva* (<IE *-swo*)>Av *-ŋuha*, OP *(x)uvā*, Skt *-sva*.

IIr *bharasva*> Av *baraŋuha*, Skt *bharasva*, OP *patipaya(x)uvā*.

3rd person

(i) *–ām* > Av *ąm*, Skt (vd) *–ām*.

IIr *ūcām* > Av *ūcąm*, cp Skt (vd) *duhām*, *vidām*.

(ii) IIr *–tām* > Av *tąm*, Skt *tām*, OP *tām*.

IIr *vr̥žyatām* > Av *vər'zyatąm*, Skt *vr̥jyatām*, OP *vr̥nvatām*

Plural

3rd person

IIr *–(a)ntām* > Av *(ə)ntąm*.

IIr *kraušantām* > Av *Xraosəntąm*, Skt *krośantām*.

283a. For history of the Avestan 1st personal subjunctive endings *–ni* (active) & *–ne* (middle) vide 295.

284. A Note on *–r* endings

IE shows several personal endings with *–r–*, which are attested in IIr, Italic, Celtic, Hittite and Tokharian. Some important IE languages like Greek show no trace of these endings. Avestan presents the following *–r–* endings. It may be noted that the IIr endings *–r*, *–r̥r*, *–rṣ̌*, *–r̥ṣ̌* are clearly distinct in Av and not in Skt. On the other hand Skt shows other *–r* endings (*–ran*, *–rire*, *–ranta* etc.), which are not attested in Av.

All the endings given below are of the 3rd person plural, except *ātarə* (< IIr *ātr̥r*) which is 3rd person dual.

Active

IIr *–r* (opt) yAv *hyārə* < IIr *syār*, cp Skt *syuḥ* < IIr *sy–r̥r*.

IIr *–r̥r* (pf) gAv *åŋharə* < IIr *ās-r̥r*, Skt *āsuḥ*

IIr *–ătr̥r* (pf 3rd dual) Av *vaocātar'* < IIr *yaucătr̥r*, cp Skt *ūcatuḥ* < IIr *ūcatr̥r*.

IIr *-rṣ̌* (aor opt) yAv *jamyārəš* <IIr *jamyārṣ̌*, cp Skt *gamyuḥ* <IIr *gamyr̥r*.

IIr *-r̥š* (pf) gAv *cikōitərᵊš* <IIr *cikaitr̥ṣ̌*. cp Skt *cikituḥ* <IIr *cikit-r̥r/-r̥ṣ̌*.

Middle

IIr *-rai* (primary) Av *sōire* <IIr *šairai* Skt *śere*, cp Ht *ketari*.

IIr-*r̥rai* (pf) Av *că̌xrare* <IIr *că̌krr̥rai* Skt *cakrire*.

IIr *-(i)ram* (plu-perfect) *-vaozirəm* <IIr *vaužh(i)ram* cp Skt (aorist) *adr̥śram* <IIr *adr̥šram*.

CHAPTER XX

THE PRESENT SYSTEM

285. Indo-European had several **present classes,** which are broadly classified as thematic and athematic, distinguished on the basis of the following factors :

(i) The IE present base ends in *–e–/–o–*(<IIr *–a–* >Av *–a–*) in the thematic conjugation.

(ii) The 1st person sg ending was *–ō* with the thematic and *–mi* with the athematic and accordingly they are also termed as *–ō* & *–mi* conjugations.

(iii) The accent was fixed either on the root or on the suffix in thematic, whereas it could shift from the root to the suffix in athematic depending on the ablaut gradation of the forms; e.g.

thematic, root accented :

sg : IE *bhérō*>IIr *bhárā(mi)*>Av *barāmi*, Skt *bhárāmi*.

pl : IE *bhéromes(i)* IIr *bhárāmas(i)*>Av *barāmahi*, Skt *bhárāmas(i)*.

thematic, suffix accented :

sg : IE *wik̂éti*>IIr *višáti*>Av *vīsa^{i}ti*, Skt *viśáti*.

pl : IE *wik̂ónti*>IIr *vīšanti*>Av *vīsənti*, Skt *viśánti*.

athematic, with accent on root in sg, on suffix in pl :

sg : IE *ésmi*>IIr *ásmi*>Av *ahmi*, Skt *ásmi*.

pl : IE *smés(i)*>IIr *smas(i)*>Av *mahi*, Skt *smás(i)*.

IIr has partly lost the distinction of thematic and athematic by extending *–mi* ending also to thematic. Avestan has further lost the distinction of several classes due to phonetic mergers; e.g. Av *bara^{i}ti* <OIr *barati* may be from IE *bhéreti* or *bhr̥réti* as *er* & *r̥r* both have become Av *-ar* and Av shows no written record of IE accent.

The IE thematic and athematic classes retained in Av are given below (286 & 287).

286. The Thematic present classes

(1) IE *-e-/-o-* class

(i) Accented *-é-/-ó-* class (Root in weak grade)

IE *wik̂óntai* > IIr *višántai* > Av *vīsənte*, cp Skt *viśánte*.

IE *sr̥ĝónti* > IIr *sr̥žánti* > Av *hər'zənti*, cp Skt *sr̥janti*.

(ii) Unaccented *-e-/-o-* class (Root in strong or long grade).

IE *bhéweti* > IIr *bhávati* > Av *bava^{i}ti*, OP *bavatiy*, Skt *bhávati*.

Note that Av *bara^{i}ti* may come under (i) above <IE *bhr̥réti* or (ii) above <IE *bhéreti*.

(iii) Root reduplicated +*-e-/-o-*.

IE *sthisth-e-ti* > IIr *sthiṣ̌thati* > Av *hišta^{i}ti*, cp OP *a(h)ištata*, Skt *tiṣṭhati* (but Gk *hístāmi* is under athematic).

(iv) Nasal infix +*-e-/-o-*.

IE *siq* + nasal infix +*e-ti* > IE *si-ŋ-q-e-ti* > IIr *siñcati* > Av *hinca^{i}ti*, Skt *siñcati*.

(2) IE *-ye-/-yo-* class

(i) Accented *ye/yo* class (Root in weak grade).

IE *yug-yé-tai* > IIr *yujyátai* > Av *yujye^{i}te*, cp Skt (passive) *yujyate*, cp Lith *jungiu* (<IE *yuŋgyō*).

(i-a) The accented *-ye-* class has also been used as passive sometimes in Avestan (<IIr vide 299).

IE *mriyetai* > IIr *mriyatai* > Av *m^{i}rye^{i}te*, Skt *mriyate*.

(ii) Unaccented *-ye-/yo-* class (Root in strong or long grade).

IE *spek̂yō*> IIr *spašyā*> Av *spasyā*, Skt *paśyāmi*, Lat *speciō*.

(iii) Denominative *-ye-/-yo-*.

ye/yo was also affixed to nouns or adjectives to form denominatives (304).

IE *r̥teyeti* (<IE stem *r̥to-*)>IIr *r̥tayati*> Av *ašaye^{i}ti*, Skt *r̥tayati*.

(3) IE *-eye-* class

IE *-eye-* was more frequent with secondary verbs than primary verbs.

(i) *-eye-* with primary verb.

IE *ghr̥bhē̆yeti*> IIr *ghr̥bhā̆yati*> Av _*gə^{u}rvā̆ye^{i}ti_, cp gAv (subjunctive 3 pl) *gā̯^{u}rvāin* (<*-āyən*), and yAv (Impf 3 sg) *gə^{u}rvayat̰*, Skt *gr̥bhāyati*.

IE *pē̆teyeti*> IIr *pā̆tayati*> Av _*pataye^{i}ti_ (cp Impf *apatayən*), cp Skt (causative) *pā̆tayati*, Gk (intensive) *potéomai*.

(iii) *-eye-* causative.

IE *tē̆peyeti*> IIr *tā̆payati*> Av *tā̆paye^{i}ti*, Skt *tāpayati*.

(iii) *-eye-* Intensive

IE *dē̆reyonti*> IIr *dā̆rayanti*> Av *dāraye^{i}nti*, cp Skt (causative) *dārayanti*.

(4) IE *-we-/-wo-* class

IE *ēp-wo-ntai*> IIr *āpvantai*> Av *āfənte* (Av *f* < *pv* 127), cp Skt *āp-no-ti* Ht *ep-tsi*.

IE *g^{w}i-we-ti*> IIr *jivati*> Av *jva^{i}ti/j^{a}va^{i}ti* (=*jivati*), cp Skt *jīvati*, OP (impv) *jīvā*

(5) IE *-se-/-so-* class

(i) Present primary

IE *bhag-se-ti*>IE *bhaqseti*>IIr *·bhakṣ̌ati*>Av *baXša^{i}ti*, cp Skt *bhakṣati*.

(ii) *-se-* used as desiderative.

IE *k̂uk̂lusetai*>IIr *šušruṣ̌atai*>Av **susruša^{i}te*, (cp Av *susrušəmnō* pple mid), Skt *śuśrūṣate*.

IE *dhidhr̥̄setai*>IIr *dhidhr̥̄ṣ̌atai*>Av **dīdar^{ə}sa^{i}te*, cp gAv (Impf mid) *dīdar^{ə}šatā*, Skt *didhīrṣate*.

IE *wiwn̥̄setu* (√*wen*)>IIr *vivāsatu*> gAv *vivənghatū* (=*vivāŋhatū*), Skt *vivāsatu*.

(6) IE *-sye-/-syo-* class.

This is attested in IIr only as future formative, which is paralleled in Lithuanian.

IE *bhūsyō*> IIr *bhūṣ̌yā(mi)*>Av **būšyā* (cp *būšyantəm*), Lith *búsiu*, cp Skt *bhaviṣyāmi* (<IE *bhewəsyō*), Gk *phū́sō* (<IE *bhūsō*).

IE *weq^{w}syō*>IIr *vakṣ̌yā(mi)*>Av *vaXšyā*, Skt *vakṣyāmi*.

(7) IE *-sk̂e-/-sk̂o-* class

IE *sk̂e*>IIr *šša*>Av *sa*, Skt *cha*, Gk *ske*.

IE *u(s)-sk̂e-ti*>IIr *uššati*>Av *usa^{i}ṭi*, Skt *ucchati*.

IE *g^{w}m̥-sk̂e-ti*>IIr *gaššati*>Av *jasa^{i}ti*, Skt *gacchati*, Gk *báskei*.

IE *ym̥-sk̂e-tai*>IIr *yaššatai*>Av *yasa^{i}te*, Skt *yacchate*.

(8) IE *-de-/-dhe-/-do-/-dho-* class.

IE *(e)ml̥ĝ-de-to*>IIr *(a)mr̥ẓ̌data*> gAv *mər^{ə}ždātā*, Skt *(a)mr̥ḍata*.

IE *snā-dhe-ti*> IIr *snādhati*> Av **snāʕa^{i}ti* (cp Av *snāʕayən*) cp Skt *snāti*.

287. The Athematic Present Classes

(1) Root class, with simple root used as base.

IE *es–ti* > IIr *asti* > Av *asti*, Skt *asti*, OP *astiy*, Gk *estí*.

IE *g^{w}hen–ti* > IIr *jhanti* > Av *ja*^{i}*nti*, Skt *hanti*, Ht *gwentsi*.

(2) Root + ə.

This may also be under class (1), because dissyllabic roots ending in long vowels had ə in weak grade. IE ə > IIr *i* or *ī* by positional variation.

IE (*e*)*mrewəto* > IIr (*a*)*mravīta* > gAv *mrvītā*, cp Skt *bravīti*.

(3) Reduplicative class

The initial consonant of the root was reduplicated with various reduplicating vowels.

(i) Reduplicated with –*ĭ*–.

IE *s–i–seq–ti* > IIr *sišakti* > Av *hišaxti*, Skt *siṣakti*.

(ii) Reduplicated with –*ŭ*–

IE *ĝh–u–ĝhu–mesi* > IIr *žhužhumasi* > Av **zuzumahi* (cp pple --*zūzuyanąm*), Skt (RV) *juhūmasi* 'we call'.

(iii) Reduplicated with –*ă*–.

IE *d–e–dō–ti*, *dh–e–dhē–ti* > IIr *dadāti*, *dhadhāti* > gAv *dadā*^{i}*tī*, yAv *daδā*^{i}*ti*, Skt *dadāti*, *dadhāti* (cp Gk *títhēmi*, with –*i*– reduplication).

IE *ĝh–e–ĝhē–mi* > IIr *žhažhāmi* > Av *zaząmi*, Skt *jahāmi*.

(iv) Reduplication with full root. This is found with intensives.

IE *qer–qr̥–mesi* > IIr *carkr̥masi* > Av *car*^{ə}*kər*^{ə}*mahī*, Skt (vd) *carkr̥masi*.

IE *ĝheu–ĝheu–mi* > IIr *žhaužhaumi* > gAv *zaozaomī*, cp Skt *johavīmi* < IE *ĝheuĝhewəmi*.

(4) IE *–nā–* class

IE *nā* shows gradations *nā* : *nə* : *n* ; *n* shows variant *n̥n* (=IIr *nā*, *nī̌*, *n*, *an*). In several forms however Skt has generalized *nī* <*nə* and Av *a̯n* <IIr *an* <IE *n̥n*.

IE *prī–nā–ti*>IIr *prīnāti*>Av *frīnā^{i}ti*, Skt *prīṇāti*.

IE *prī–n–onti*>IIr *prīnanti*>Av *frīnənti*, Skt *prīṇanti*.

IE *priy–n̥n–mesi*/*prī–nə–mesi*> IIr *priy–an–masi*/*prī–nī̌–masi*>Av *fryanmahi*, Skt (vd) *prīṇīmasi*.

(4a) Some Avestan verbs presuppose an IIr *–nāya–* class, which is an extension of *nā*+*ya*. The gradation is *nāya* : *nī̌ya* : *nya*/*anya* (<IE *n̥n–yo–*).

Av *^{u}rvinya^{i}ntīš* (nom pl fem pple)<IIr *vri–n–ya–ntīš*.

Av *zaranimnəm* <**zarnyamnəm* <IIr *žhr̥nyamnam*.

(5) IE *–neu-* class

(স্বাদিগণ)

The gradation *neu* : *nu* : *n̥nw*> IIr *nau* : *nu* : *anv*.

IE *i–neu–ti*>IIr *inauti*> Av *inao^{i}ti*, Skt *inoti*.

IE *(e)su–nu–to*>IIr *(a)sunuta*> Av *hunūta*, Skt *asunuta*.

IE *qr̥–neu–ti*> IIr *kr̥nauti*> Av *kər^{ə}nao^{i}ti*, Skt (vd) *kr̥ṇoti*.

IE *(e)dhbh–n̥neu–to*/*(e)dhebh–nu–to*> IIr *(a)dhbh–anau–ta*/*(a)dhabhnuta*>gAv *dəbnaotā*, Skt *adabhnuta*.

(6) IE Nasal infix class

IE *ne* : *n* was infixed to the root.

IE *li–ne–q^{w}–ti*(< √*liq^{w}*)>IIr *rinakti*> Av *^{i}rinaxti*, Skt *riṇakti*.

IE *q^{wi}–nε–s–mi* (<√*q^{w}is*)> IIr *cinasmi*> gAv *cinahmī*, cp Skt *hinasmi* <IE *g^{w}hinesmi*.

(7) IE *–s–* class (rare).

IE *nēit–s–mi*(< √*neid*, cp Skt *nind* 'blame' Gk *óneidos*)> IIr *nāitsmi*> Av *nāismi*.

288. The Imperfect

The Imperfect was formed with secondary endings added to the present base, with an augment prefixed to the verbal base. This augment was optional in IE and this was accordingly optional and rare in Avestan.

Some examples of imperfect in singular & plural are cited below.

Singular

1st person IE *(e)bherom*>IIr *(a)bharam*>Av *barəm*, cp Skt *(a)bharam*, OP *abavam*, Gk *épheron*.

2nd person IE *(e)*g^{w}*m̥sk̂es*> IIr *(a)gaššas*> Av *jasō*, Skt *(a)gacchaḥ*.

3rd person IE *(e)bheret*>IIr *(a)bharat*> Av *barat̰*, Skt *(a)bharat*, Gk *éphere*.

Plural

1st person IE *(e)bhewome*> IIr *(a)bhavāma*> Av *bavāma*, Skt *(a)bhavāma*, cp Gk *ephéromen*.

2nd person IE *(e)*g^{w}*m̥sk̂ete*>IIr *(a)gaššata*> Av *jasata*, Skt *(a)gacchata*, Gk *ephérete*.

3rd person IE *(e)bheront*> IIr *(a)bharant*> Av *barən*, OP *abara*, Skt *(a)bharan*, Gk *épheron*.

CHAPTER XXI

AORIST, PERFECT AND FUTURE

289. Aorist

The aorist also, like the imperfect (288), was formed with the augment and secondary endings. But the base-formation of aorist differed from the imperfect, because the imperfect was based on present base and the aorist had its independent formation.

On the basis of base-formation, aorist is of two types : sigmatic & asigmatic.

(a) Sigmatic Aorist

Avestan shows three types of sigmatic aorist, on the basis of base-formation : *s*– aorist, *so*– aorist, & *is*– aorist.

(i) –*s*– aorist

IE (*e*)*men–s–to*> IIr (*a*`*man–s–ta*> gAv *mąstā*, yAv *mąsta*, Skt (*a*)*maṃsta*.

IE (*e*)*wid–s–m̥m*> IE (*e*)*witsm̥m*> IIr (*a*)*witsan*> Av *vīsəm*, Skt *(*a*)*vitsam*, cp Gk *ísan* <IE *witsn̥nt* (epic 3rd pl of pluperfect).

(ii) –*so*– aorist

IE *mn̥z–dhē–so–dhwom*> IIr *mazdhāsadhvam*> gAv *mazdå̊ŋhōdūm* (for *–*ŋhadūm*), cp Skt *aspr̥kṣat* <IE (*e*)*spr̥k̂se–t*.

(iii) –*is*– aorist

IE (*e*)*ĝhēw–is–i*> IIr *žhāv–iṣ̌–i*> Av *zāviši* (√*zav*, *zbā* <IIr *žhav*, *žhvā* 'call')

IE (*e*)*qew–is–to*> IIr (*a*)*cav–iṣ̌–ta*> gAv *cəvistā* cp Skt *ajaniṣṭa* (< √*jan* 'be born, beget')

(b) Asigmatic Aorist

Avestan presents two types of asigmatic aorist, on the basis of base-formation : *o*– aorist & root aorist.

(i) *o*– aorist .

IE (optative) *k̂əsoit* > IIr *šĭṣ̌ait* > Av *sīšōit̰* cp Skt *śiṣāmahi* (middle 1st person plural), beside Av present *sāstī* (= Skt *śāsti*) <IE *k̂āsti*.

IE (*e*)*bhuwet* > IIr (*a*)*bhuvat*> Av *bvat̰* cp Skt (vd) *bhuvat* (beside Skt *abhūt*).

(ii) Root aorist

IE (*e*)*–men–to* >IIr *a–man–ta*> gAv *mantā*, cp Skt (vd) *amata* (<IE *e-mn̥–to*) (beside present Av *manyete*, Skt *manyate*).

IE (*e*)*k̂–leu–to*> IIr (*a*)*–šrau–ta*> gAv *sraotā* (beside present Av *s^{u}runao^{i}ti*, Skt *śr̥ṇoti*).

289a. Passive aorist

IIr shows a special passive formation, with root aorists, attested in 3rd sg, with an ending *–i*. The root remains in strong or long grade in these forms. Avestan has further extended it to present stems in some cases.

IIr (*a*)*-šrāv-i* (< IE (*e*)*–k̂lēw-i*)> gav *srāvī*, Skt (*a*)*śrāvi*, cp OP *akāriy*.

IIr (*a*)*–vāc–i* (<IE (*e*)*-wēq^{w}-i*)> gAv *vācī*, Skt (*a*)*vāci*.

cp also Av *ər'nāvi* from present *ər'nao^{i}ti*, Skt *r̥ṇoti*.

290. perfect

IE perfect, which signified completed action, was characterised by reduplication, and special endings.

The reduplicating vowel of the perfect was IE *ĕ̄* (= IIr *ă̄*>Av *ă̄*), but IIr shows other reduplications in perfect also (275). But sometimes there was no reduplication in IE perfect; e.g.

IE *woida*> Av *vaēδa* cp Skt *veda*, Gk *oîda.*

The reduplicating vowels *a* (<IE *e* e.g. Av *vavaca* **275–i**), *ā* (<IE *ē* e.g. Av *dādar*^{ə}*sa* **275–i**), *ī̆* (Av *cikōitər*^{ə}*š*, **275–ii**), & *ū̆* (Av *hušX*^{v}*afa* **275–iii**), have been illustrated above. Avestan further shows some new formations in reduplication, which are analogical creations; e.g. *šušuyąm* with *šu–* for *ca–/cu–* (**276**).

The special endings of perfect have also been shown above (**282**).

291. Pluperfect

Just like imperfect (**288**) & aorist (**289**), the secondary endings and an augment were used for formation of the pluperfect. The base was was identical with the perfect base, which distinguished pluperfect from aorist and imperfect.

Some examples of pluperfect in Avestan may be cited.

IE (*e*)*weuq*^{w}*et*>IIr (*a*)*vaucat*> Av *vaocat̰*, Skt *avocat*, Gk *éeipon* (<IE *eweuq*^{w}*om*).

IE (*e*)*g*^{w}*heg*^{w}*hnet*> IIr (*a*)*jhaghnat*> Av *jaγnat̰.*

292. Future

IIr & Balto-Slavic show future formation with *–syo,* whereas Greek shows future with *–so.* Originally both were present formatives. But in IE stage their use as future might have started although not fully established.

Some examples of future in Avestan may be cited.

IE *srek̂–sye–ti*> IIr *sraš–ṣ̌ya–ti*> Av *har*^{ə}*šye*^{i}*ti,* cp Skt *srakṣyati.*

IE *weq*^{w}*syō*>IIr *vakṣ̌yā*(*mi*)> gAv *vaXšyā*, Skt *vakṣyāmi.*

CHAPTER XXII

MOODS

293. Indicative

IE had **five moods,** which are retained in Av, through IIr : indicative, injunctive, subjunctive, optative and imperative.

Indicative indicates the action without any special modification. Thus simple present (e.g. IE *bhereti*, Av *bara*^{i}*ti*) is present indicative, simple aorist (e.g. IE (*e*)*mento*, gAv *mantā*) is aorist indicative and similarly simple perfect (e.g. IE *dĕ̄dork̂a*, Av *dūdar*^{ə}*sa*) is perfect indicative.

294. Injunctive

Injunctive expresses desire. The IE injunctive was formed with addition of secondary endings to present, aorist and perfect bases for formation of the respective injunctive forms. Thus the present injunctive was identical in form with an unaugmented imperfect, the aorist injunctive was identical in form with an unaugmented aorist, and perfect injunctive was identical in form with an unaugmented pluperfect. Since augment was also rare in Avestan an injunctive form could be distinguished from imperfect, aorist or pluperfect simply on the basis of use.

Some examples of forms actually used as injunctive in Avestan are cited below.

IE *q*^{w}*inest*> IIr *cinast*> Av *cinas* (present injunctive 3rd sg.)

IE *dēik̂s*> IIr *dāišș̌*> Av *dāiš* (aorist injunctive 2nd sg).

295. Subjunctive

Subjunctive was formed with a modal affix *-a* (<IE *-e/o*) and with primary or secondary endings; e.g. IE *es–e–t/–ti* >IIr *as-a-t/-ti*> Av *aŋhat̰/aŋha*^{i}*ti*, Skt *asat/asati*.

In 1st sg active IIr shows a subjunctive ending *-ni*; cp Av *barāni*, Skt *bharāṇi*. In 1st sg middle OIr shows a subjunctive ending *-nai* (>Av *ne*); cp Av *yazāne*, OP *kunavānaiy*. This may be from IIr *-nai* or a new formation in OIr.

The modal affix *-a* (<IE *e/o*) was contracted to thematic verb bases and the resultant vowel was *-ā* (<IE *ē/ō*).

Illustrative subjunctive forms of present (thematic and athematic), aorist and perfect are cited below.

Present subjunctive

Thematic

Active

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
1st	*bherō/bherē*	*bharā(ni)*	*barāni* *xšayā*	*bharāṇi*
2nd	*bherēs(i)*	*bharās(i)*	*barāhi* *dāyå*	*bharās(i)*
3rd	*bherēt(i)*	*bharāt(i)*	*barāṯ*	*bharāt(i)*
Plural				
1st	*bherō-mes(i)*	*bharā-mas(i)*	g. *jvāmahī*	
	bherō-me	*bharā-ma*		*bharāma*
3rd	*bherōnt(i)*	*bharānt(i)*	*barånti*	*carān*
Middle				
Singular				
1st	*yaĝēi*	*yažāi*	*yazāi* *yazāne* (OP *kunavānaiy*)	*gaccai*
2nd	*pr̥(k̂)sk̂ēsai*	*pr̥ššāsai*	*pərᵊsåŋhe*	*vardhāse*
3rd	*yaĝētai*	*yažātai*	*yazāⁱte*	*yajā-te/tai*
Plural				
3rd	*yaĝōntai*	*yažāntai*	*yazånte*	

Athematic

Active

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
Singular				
1st	*esō/esē*	*asā(ni)*	g. *aŋhā* y. *aŋha*	*asā(ni)*
	eyō/eyē	*ayā(ni)*	g. *ayeni* y. *aēni*	*ayā(ni)*
2nd	*eses(i)*	*asas(i)*	y. *aŋhō*	
3rd	*eset(i)*	*asat(i)*	g. *aŋha*^{i}*ti* g/y. *aŋhat̰*	*asat(i)*
Plural				
1st	*eso–mes(i)/*	*asamas(i)*		
	eso–me	*asama*	*sayama*	*asāma*
2nd	*esethe*	*asatha*	g. *caẏaθā*	*asatha*
3rd	*esont(i)*	*asant(i)*	*aŋhən*	*asan*

Middle

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
Singular				
1st	*augēi*	*aujāi*	*aojāi* *stavāne*	*aśnavai*
2nd	*dhēsai*	*dhāsai*	g. *dåŋhē*	
3rd	*dhētai*	*dhātai*	*dā*^{i}*te*	*asa-te/āsā̆tai*
	dhēto	*dhāta*	g. *dar*^{ə}*satā*	*īśata*
Plural				
1st	*īk̂ōmedhai*	*išāmadhai*	*isāma*^{i}*dē*	*iḷā-mahe/* *-mahai*
3rd	*yeugontai*	*yaujantai*	g. *yaojəntē*	*hananta*
	yeug·onto		g. *dåntē* y. *dånte*	

Aorist Subjunctive (examples from *s*– aorist)

Active

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
1st	*werk̂–sō* (< √*werĝ* 'work')	*varšṣ̌ā(ni)*	*varᵊšā*	*stoṣā(ni)*
3rd	*werk̂set(i)*	*varšṣ̌at(i)*	*varᵊsaⁱti* *vānghat̰*	*neṣat(i)*

Plural

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
3rd	*werk̂sont(i)*	*varšṣ̌ant(i)*	g. *varᵊšəntī* g. *vānghən*	*parṣan*

Middle

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
1st	*mn̥̄sēi* *pōsēi*	*māsāi* *pāsāi*	g. *mənghāi* g. *påŋhe* y. *råŋhe*	*maṃsai*
2nd	*pōsesai*	*pāsasai*	y. *påŋhahe* g. *råŋhaŋhōi*	*maṃsase*
3rd	*pōsetai*	*pāsatai* cp	g. *varᵊšaⁱtē*	*maṃsate*

Perfect Subjunctive

Plural

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
1st	*esōme*	*āsāma*	g. *åŋhāmā* y. *åŋhāma*	*cākanāma*

296. Optative

The optative mood was formed with the modal affix *yā* (<IE *yē̜*) added to athematic verb bases and *ī* added to thematic verb bases, to which the secondary endings were affixed.

Some examples may be cited.

Present Optative

Athematic

Active

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk	Lat
1st	*syēm*	*syām*	g. *h˙yə̄m*	*syām*	*eíēn*	*siēm*
2nd	*syēs*	*syās*	g. *h˙yå̄*	*syāḥ*	*eíēs*	*siēs*
3rd	*syēt*	*syāt*	g./y. *h˙yāṯ* y. *h˙yaṯ*	*syāt*	*eíē*	*siēt*
Plural						
1st	*syēme*	*syāma*	g. *h˙yāmā*	*syāma*	*eiēmen*	
2nd	*syēte*	*syāta*	cp. *buyata*	*syāta*	*aíēte*	
3rd	*syēnt*	*syānt*	g. *h˙yə̄n* y. *hyąn*		*eísēn*	
	syēr	*syār*	y, *hyārᵊ*			
	syr̥r	*syr̥r*	y. *hyarᵊ*	*syuḥ*		
Middle						
Singular						
1st	*dhiyo*	*dhiya*	g. *dyā*	*ī́śīya*		
2nd	*mruvī-so*	*mruviṣa*	*mrvīša*			
3rd	*gʷhnī-to*	*ghnīta*	*γnīta*	*bruvīta*		
Plural						
1st	*menīmedhə*	*menīmadhi*	*maᶦnimaᶦdī*	*bruvīmahi*		

Thematic

Active

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt	Gk
2nd	*bherois*	*bharaiṣ*	*barōīš*	*bhareḥ*	*phérois*
3rd	*bheroit*	*bharait*	*barōiṯ*	*bharet*	*phéroi*
Plural					
1st	*bheroime*	*bharaima*	*jasaēma*	*bharema*	*phéroimen*
2nd	*bheroite*	*bharaita*	*θwərəšaēta*	*bhareta*	*phéroite*
3rd	*bheroy-n̥nt/r̥r*	*bharayant/r̥r*	*barayən*	*bhareyuḥ*	*phéroien*

Middle

Singular

	IE	IIr	Av	Skt
1st	*yaĝoiyo*	*yažaiya*	cp *haχšaya*	*yajeya*
2nd	*yaĝoi-so/-thēs*	*yažai-ṣ̌a/-thās*	*yazaēša*	*yajethāḥ*
3rd	*yaĝoito*	*yažaita*	*yazaēta*	*yajeta*

Plural

1st	*yaĝaimedhə*	*yažoimadhi*	g. *vāurōimōidē*	*yajemahī*
2nd	*yaĝoidhwom*	*yažaidhvam*	y. *vāmōiϑwəm*	*yajedhvam*
3rd	*yaĝoyonta*	*yažayanta*	*yazayanta*	*yajeran*

Aorist Optative

Mid 2nd sg *raēχšīša* < IIr *–i–ṣ̌a* < IE *i so.*

Perfect Optative

Active

Singular

	Av	IIr	IE
1st	*šušuyąm*	*–yām*	*–yēm*
2nd	*-tutuyå*	*–yās*	*-yēs*
3rd	*hazdyāṱ* *åŋhāṱ* (new formation < √ *ah* 'be')	*–yāt*	*–yēt*

Dual

3rd *åŋhāṱ–təm* (new formation < √ *ah* 'be')

297. Imperative

Imperative was formed with special endings (shown above 283).

Some examples may be cited here.

Present Imperative

Thematic

Active

Singular 2nd *bara* (< IE *bhere*), Skt *bhara*, Gk *phére*.
3rd *baratu* (< IE *bheretu*), Skt *bharatu*.

Plural 3rd *barəntu* (<IE *bherontu*), Skt *bharantu.*

Middle

Singular 2nd *baraŋuha* (<IE *bheresvo*), Skt *bharasva*
3rd *vərəzyatąm* (<IE *vr̥ĝyetām*), Skt *vr̥jyatām.*
plural 3rd *χraosəntąm* (<IE *qreuk̂entām*), Skt *kr̥śantām.*

Athematic

Active

Singular 2nd g. *zdī* (<IE *zdhi*) cp Skt *edhi.*
y. *jaδi* (<IE *gʷhn̥dhi*) cp Skt *jahi.*
3rd g. *astū* y. *astu* (<IE *estu*) cp Skt *astu.*
g. *jantū* y. *jantu* (<IE *gʷhentu*) cp Skt *hantu.*
ūcąm (<IIr *ūcām*) cp Skt *vidām.*
Plural 3rd g. *hə̄ntū* (>IE *sentu)* cp Skt *santu*
g. *həntō* (new formation)

Middle

Singular 2nd g. *kərᵊšvā* (<IE *qr̥svo*) Skt *kr̥ṣva*
3rd y. *barᵊtąm* (<IE *bhertām*)
Plural 3rd *χšə̄ntąm* (<IE *qθēntām*) cp Skt *kṣayati* Gk *ktáomai.*

Aorist Imperative

Middle

Singular 2nd g. *varᵊšvā* <IE *werk̂swo*

CHAPTER XXIII

SECONDARY CONJUGATIONS

298. Secondary conjugations in Avestan

Avestan shows the following secondary conjugations : passive, intensive, causative, desiderative and denominative.

299. Passive

In IE passive was expressed by the middle voice, as is often attested in Vedic Sanskrit, Homeric Greek etc. Avestan also presents a few traces of such use, e.g. Av *yazənte*, cp Skt *yajante* < IIr *yažantai* < IE *yaĝontai*.

IIr developed a special passive conjugation out of IE *–ye–* class. Sanskrit shows a preference for middle endings here as well, although the use of active endings are attested in epic Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan. Avestan uses middle and active endings without any such restriction. Some examples of passive with middle and active endings are cited below.

With Middle Endings :—

IE *k̂lŭ-ye-tai* > IIr *šrŭyatai* > Av **sruya^{i}te*, cp Av *sruye*, *sruyata*, Skt *śrūyate*.

IE *qr–iye–ntai* > IIr *kriyantai* > Av *k^{i}rye^{i}nte*, Skt *kriyante*.

IE *mr-iye-tai* > IIr *mrīyatai* > Av *m rye^{i}te* 'he dies', Skt *mriyate*.

With Active Endings :—

IE *qr-iye-ti* > IIr *krīyati* > Av *k^{i}rye ti*, Skt **krīyati* (cp MIA *kijjai*, Mahābhārata *parišuṣyati*, *adr̥śyat*).

300. Passive Aorist

IIr had a special passive aorist with *–i* in 3rd person singular; e.g. Av *vācī* = Skt *avāci* (vide **289a** for details). In Avestan this was further extended to present stems; e.g. Av ^{ə}*r*^{ə}*nāvī*.

301. The Intensive

The intensive was originally formed with (a) full reduplication of the root, or (b) reduplication of the initial syllable of the root with strong or long grade of the reduplicated syllable, or (c) same as (a) or (b) with addition of the suffix *–ya–*. (d) Avestan shows intensives with *–aya–* suffix without reduplication of the root, which may be an innovation.

Some examples of each type are cited below.

(a) With full reduplication of the root.

IE *derderti* > IIr *dardarti* > Av **dardarti*, cp Av (opt 3rd sg.) *darda*^{i}*ryāt*, Skt *dardarti*, cp Gk *dardáptō*.

IE *qerqr̥mesi* > IIr *carkr̥masi* > Av *car*^{ə}*kər*^{ə}*mahi*, Skt (vd) *carkr̥masi*.

IE *ĝheuĝheumi* > IIr *žhaužhaumi* > Av *zaozaomi*, cp Skt Skt *johavīmi* (< IE *ĝheuĝhewəmi*).

(b) With reduplication of the initial syllable with strong or long grade of the reduplicated syllable.

IE *weiwideti* (subjunctive) > IIr *vaividati* > gAv *vōīvīda*^{i}*ti*, Skt *vevidati*.

IE *deideik̂t* > IIr *daidaiṣ̌t* > gAv *daēdōišt*, cp Skt *dediśat*.

(c) With reduplication and *–ya–* suffix. This was quite rare in Av.

IE *rērisyeti* > IIr *rāriṣ̌yati* > Av *rārišye*^{i}*ti* 'hurts, wounds', cp Skt *riṣyati*.

(d) with *-aya-* suffix and strong or long grade of the root syllable and no reduplication, like causatives, to be distinguished merely on semantic basis. This may be an extension in Av from IIr causatives or primary present.

Av *daēsaye*^{i}*nti* <IIr (causative) *daišayanti*, cp Skt (causative) *deśayanti*.

Av *dābaye*^{i}*ti* <IIr (causative) *dhăbhayati* cp Skt (causative) *dabhayati*.

Av *dāraye*^{i}*nti* <IIr (causative) *dhārayati*, cp Skt (causative) *dhūrayati*.

302. Causative

The causative was formed with the affix *-aya-*(< IE *-eye-*) added to the strong or long grade of the root.

IE *leuqeyeti*> IIr *raucayati*> Av *raocaye*^{i}*ti*, Skt *rocayati*, cp Lat *lūceō*.

IE *weideyet*>IIr *vaidayat*> Av *vaēdayaṯ*, Skt *vedayat*.

IE *mōneyeti*>IIr *mānayati*>Av *mānaye*^{i}*ti*, Skt *mānayati*, cp Lat *moneō*.

IE *tōpeyeti*> IIr *tāpayati*> Av *tāpaye*^{i}*ti*, Skt *tāpayati*.

303. Desiderative

The desiderative was formed by reduplication of the initial consonant of the root, with the reduplicating vowel *ĭ̄*, excepting the roots in *-u-*, which show reduplicating vowel *u*. The base affix was *-sa-* (< IE *-so-*).

IE *g*^{w}*ig*^{w}*īseti*> IIr *jijīṣati*> Av (subjunc) *jijīšā*^{i}*ti*, Skt *jigiṣati*.

IE *dhĭ̄dhṝ̥seto*> IIr *dhĭ̄dhṝṣato*> gAv *didaṛ*^{ə}*šatā*, cp Skt *didhīrṣati*.

304. Denominative

The denominative was formed by adding *-ya-*, (rarely *-a-* or nil) to nouns or adjectives with *-ya-*.

gAv *ašaye^{i}ti* (<stem *aṣ̌a-*), cp Skt *r̥tayati* (<*r̥ta-*).

gAv *^{u}rūpaye^{i}ntī* (< *^{u}rūpa-*), Skt *rūpayanti* <*rūpa-*).

gAv *nəmah^{i}yāmahī* (<*nəmah-*), Skt *namasyāmaḥ* (<*namas-*).

304a. With *-a-*.

Av *aēnaŋha^{i}ti* (140b)<IIr *ainas-a-ti*, cp Skt *pitar-a-ti*.

804b. With nil

Av *pəšana^{i}ti* 'fights' <IIr *pr̥tana-ti* >stem *pr̥tana-*, cp Skt *phalati*.

CHAPTER XXIV

PARTICIPLES AND INFINITIVE

305. Participles

Avestan shows the following participles.

(a) present-aorist (-future) active participle :— IE *-ont/-nt*.

(b) perfect active participle : IE *-wes/-wos/-us*.

(c) present-aorist-perfect middle participle : IE *-meno/-mno*,

(d) past (passive) participle : IE *-to/-no/(-qo)*.

(e) future passive participle : IE *-yo*.

306. Present-aorist (-future) active participle

IE shows *-ont/-nt/-n̥t* > Av *-ant/-nt/-at*.

(i) Present-aorist participle

IE *bheront-* > IIr *bharant-* > Av *barant-*, Skt *bharant-*, Gk *pheront-*.

IE *stewn̥t-* > IIr *stavat-* > Av *stavat-*, Skt *stavat-*.

IE *pōnt-* > IIr *pānt-* > Av *pånt-*, Skt *pānt-*.

(ii) Future Participle

IE *bhūsyo-nt* > IIr *bhūṣyant-* > Av *būšyant-*, Skt *bhaviṣyant-*.

307. Perfect active participle

IE shows *-wes/-wos/-us* > Av *-vah/-uš*.

IE *widwes-/widus-* > IIr *vidvas-/viduṣ̌-* > Av *vidvah-/viduš*, Skt *vidvas-/viduṣ*, cp Gk *eidṓs*.

IE *wewonwes-/wewnus-(weunus-)* > IIr *vavanvas-/vavnuṣ̌-(vaunuṣ̌-)* > Av *vavanvah-/vaonuš-*, Skt *vavanvas-/vavnuṣ-*.

IE *dedwes–/dedus–*> IIr *dadvas–/dadus–*> Av *daδvah–/ daduš–(daᶜuš–)*, Skt *dadvas* (*dadivas–*)/*daduṣ–*, cp Gk *dedōkṓs*.

308. Present–aorist–perfect middle participle

IE shows *meno-/mēno-/mno-/m̥̆̄no-*. Av shows *mna–* (rarely *mana–*) and *ā̆na–* (=Skt *māna–* & *āna–*) respectively after thematic and athematic stems.

Present

IE *bhero–m(ĕ̄)no–*> Av *baramna–*, Skt *bharamāṇa–*, Gk *pheromeno–*.

IE *k̂eyo–m(ĕ̄)no–*> Av *sayamana–*, *sayamna–*.

IE *k̂ey–m̥̆̄no–*> Av *sayana–*, Skt *śayāna–*.

IE *dhedh–m̥̆̄no–*> Av *daϑāna–*, Skt *dadhāna–*.

IE *wes–m̥̆̄no–*> Av *vaŋhåna–*, Skt *vasāna–*.

Aorist

IE *k̂lew–m̥̆̄no–*> Av *sravana–*, cp Skt (vd) *dr̥śāna–* <IE *dr̥k̂–m̥̄no–*.

Perfect

IE *memnm̥̆̄no–*> Av *mamnāna–*, cp Skt *jajmāna–* <IE *gʷegʷmm̥̄no–*.

309. Past (passive) participle

IE past (passive) participial suffix was *–to*; besides sometimes *–no*, *–tho*, *–qo* etc. were also used.

i) IE *–to*> Av *–ta*

IE *k̂litos*> IIr *šritas*> Av *sritō*, Skt *śritaḥ*, Gk *klitós*.

IE *k̂lutos*> IIr *šrutas*> Av *srutō*, Skt *śrutaḥ*, Gk *klutós*.

IE *mn̥tos*> IIr *matas*> Av *matō*, Skt *mataḥ*, Gk *–matos*.

IE *gʷhn̥tos*> IIr *ghatas*> Av *jatō*, Skt *hataḥ*, Gk *phatós*.

ii) IE *–no*> Av *–na*

IE *pl̥̆̄nos*> IIr *pr̥̆̄nas*> Av *pərᵊna–*, Skt *pūrṇaḥ*, Gk *polloí*, Goth *fulls*.

IE *ūnos*>IIr *ūnas*>Av *ūna–* 'insufficient' Skt *ūnaḥ* 'less'.

iii) IE *–tho*> Av *–θa/δa,* Skt *–tha.*

IE *qr̥tho–*> IIr *kr̥tha–*> Av *kərᵊθa–* 'done', cp Skt *kr̥tha–* 'deed' beside Av *kərᵊta–* Skt *kr̥ta–* 'done'.

IE *uqʷtho–*> IIr *uktha–*> Av *uχδa–* 'spoken', cp Skt *uktha–* 'prayer', beside Av *ŭχta–* & Skr *ukta–* (<IE *uqʷto–*).

iv) IE *–qo–*> Av *–ka–.*

IE *susqo–*> IIr *suṣ̌ka–*> Av *huška–*, Skt *suṣka–* & OP *(h)uška–* 'dried'.

310. Future passive participles

The gerundives or future passive participles were formed in Av. with several suffixes. i) *–ya* <IE *–yo* cp Skt *–ya;* ii) *–tva/–θwa/–δwa*<IE *–two,* cp Skt *–tva* (gerundive only in Vedic); iii) *–ata* <IE *–eto,* cp Skt *–ata;* iv) *–anta* <IE *–ento,* not paralleled outside Avestan.

Some examples may be cited.

i) IE *–yo*> Av *–ya*

IE *welyo–*> IIr *varya–*> Av *vaⁱrya–*, Skt *varya–.*

IE *derk̂yo–*> IIr *darśya–*> Av *darᵊṣya–*, Skt *darśya–.*

IE *qorya–*> IIr *karya–*> Av *kaⁱrya–*, Skt *kārya–.*

ii) IE *–two*> Av *–tva, θwa, –δwa.*

IE *weqʷtwo–*> IIr *vaktva–*> Av *vaχəδwa–*, Skt *vaktva–*

IE *werk̂two–*> IIr *varṣ̌tva–*> Av *varštva–.*

IE *yak̂two–*> IIr *yaṣ̌ṭva–*> Av *yašᵊθwa–.*

iii) IE *–eto*> Av *–ata*

IE *yaĝeto–*> IIr *yažāta–*> Av *yazata–*, Skt *yajata*

IE *derk̂eto–*> IIr *daršata–*> Av *darᵊsata–*, Skt *darśata–.*

iv) IE *–ento*> Av *–anta*

IE *yaĝonto–*> IIr *yažanta–*> Av *yazanta–.*

311. Infinitives

IE infinitives could be formed from various stems. Different historical languages have inherited different infinitive formations from various stems, which originally belonged to an inflection in singular either in accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive or locative.

312. Accusative Infinitive

(a) Root stems

Av *nāsəm* <IIr *nāšam* <IE *nēk̂m̥m*, cp Skt *viśam*;
Av *snaθəm* <IIr *snatham.*

(b) -*ā* stems

Av *gərᵊ.bąm* <IIr *ghr̥bhām;*
Av *usąm* <IIr *uššąm* <IE *ụ(s)sk̂ām* (√*wes*);
Av *γᵊnąm* <IIr *ghnām* <IE *gʷhnām.*

(c) –*ti* stems

Av *dāⁱtīm* <IIr *dātim* <IE *dōtim.*

313. Instrumental Infinitive

(a) –*ti* stems

Av *upāiti*<IIr *upāiti*

(b) –*ya* stems

Av *patiricyā* <IIr *pati–ricyā*

314. Dative Infinitive

(a) Root stems

Av *aēšē* <IIr *aiṣ̌–ai*, cp Skt *iṣe;*
Av *buye* <OIr *buv–ai* <IIr *bhuv–ai*, Skt *bhuve.*

(b) –*a* stems

Av *patāi* <IIr *patāi* <IE *petōi*

(c) –*as* stems

Av *avaŋhe* <IIr *avas–ai*, Skt *avase.*

(d) –*tan* stems

Av *x̌šōiθne* 'to live' <IIr *kṣaitnai* <IE *qθeitnai.*

(e) *–tar* stems

Av *barᵊθre* <IIr *bhartr–ai*

(f) *–ti* stems

Av *harštayaē–ca* <IIr *sr̥ṣ̌tayai* <IE *sr̥k̂teyai* (<IE √*sr̥ĝ*), cp Skt *iṣṭaye.*

(g) *–tra* stems

Av *harᵊθrāi* <IIr *sartrāi*

(h) *–tha* stems

Av *ūθāi* <IIr *ūthāi* <√*av* help

(i) *-thi* stems

Av *ciθayaē–ca* <IIr *cithayai* <IE *qʷi–they–ai*,

(j) *-dhyā* stems

Av *srūⁱdyāi* <IIr *šrudhyāi*, cp Skt *iyadhyai*

(k) *–na* stems

Av *syaoθᵃnāi* <IIr *cyautnāi* <IE *qʷyeutnōi*

(l) *–man* stems

Av *x̌šnūmaⁱne* 'to be satisfied' <IIr *kṣ̌numane*, cp Skt *vidmane*, Gk *ídmenai*

(m) *–ya* stems

Av *vaēdyāi* <IIr *vaidyāi*

(n) *–van* stems

gAv *vīdvanōi* <IIr *vidvanai*, cp Skt *dāvane*, Gk (Cypr) *dowénai*

315. Ablative Infinitive

Since Av has analogically extended the ablative ending *–at̰* of *–a* stems to all declensions, ablative infinitive is quite distinct from genitive infinitive in Avestan.

(a) *–a* stem

Av *darᵊsāt̰* <IIr *daršāt*/*dr̥šāt* <IE *derk̂ōt*/*dr̥k̂ōt.*

(b) –*ti* stems

Av *šūtōiṯ̰* <IIr *cyūtais* cp Skt *cyuteḥ* (noun abl-gen sg).

316. Genitive Infinitive

(a) Root stems

gAv *sarə̄* (=*sarō*) <OIr *sarah* <IIr *šr̥ras*

(b) –*ti* stems

Av *darštōiš* <IIr *darštaiš*/*dr̥štaiš* <IE *derk̂tois*/*dr̥k̂tois* cp Skt *dr̥ṣṭeḥ* (noun gen sg).

317. Locative Infinitive

(a) Root stems

Av *varəzī* <IIr *varži*/*vr̥̄ži* <IE *werĝi*/*wr̥̄ĝi* (< √*werĝ* 'work').

(b) –*at* stems

Av *frāδati* <IIr *prādati*

(c) –*as* stems

Av *avō* <IIr *avas* (loc with nil ending)

Av *nəmahī* <IIr *namasi* (loc with –*i* ending)

(d) –*ti* stems

Av *parštā* (< √ *fras* 'ask') <IIr *pṝšštāi* <IE *pṝk̂sk̂tēi* (cp rd loc sg noun *agnā*)

(e) –*thi* stems

Av *hōiθōi* <IIr *saithai*

(f) –*na* stems

Av *ᵘrvānę̄* <IIr *vrānai*

(g) –*ya* stems

Av *vərəⁱδye* <IIr *vr̥dhyai*

(h) –*va* stems

Av *dāvōi* <IIr *dāvai*

(i) –*van* stems

Av *rōiθwən* <IIr *raitvan* (loc with nil ending).

CHAPTER XXV

PREPOSITIONS AND ADVERBS

318. Prepositions

The following prepositions are used in Avestan.

a^{i}*ti* <IIr *ati* <IE *eti*, cp Skt *ati*, OP *atiy*, Gk *eti*, Lat *et*.

aδa^{i}*ri* <IIr *adhari* <IE *n̥*^{d}*heri*, cp Skt *adhaḥ*, Goth *under* <IE *n̥dher*.

apā̆ <IIr *apa* <IE *apo*, cp Skt *apa*; OP *apa*, Gk *apo*.

a^{i}*pī̆* <IIr *api* <IE *epi*, cp Skt *api*, OP *epiy*, Gk *epi*-

ape <IIr *apa*÷*i*.

apō <IIr *apa*+*u*.

g. *a*^{i}*bī*, y. *a wi*, *avi*, *aoi* <IIr *abhi*, <IE *m̥bhi*, Skt *abhi*, Gk *amphí*.

a^{i}*witō* <IIr *abhi*+*tas* cp Skt *abhitaḥ* (adv).

ana <IIr *anā* <IE *anū* (NLIECG. p. 124), cp OP *anā*, Gk *aná*, Goth *ana*.

y. *anu*, g. *əəānū* <IIr *anu* <IE *anu*, cp Skt *anu*, OP *anuv*.

antarə <IIr *antar* <IE *enter*, cp Skt *antaḥ*, OP *a(n)tar*, Lat *inter*.

avā̆ <IIr *ava* <IE *awo*, cp Skt *ava*, OP *ava*

aš <IIr *ašṣ̌* <IE *ek̂s* cp Gk *eks*, Lat *ex*, Skt *āś(-carya)*.

ā <IIr *ā* <IE *ē̆/ō*, cp Skt *ā*, OP *ā*.

āi <IIr *ā*+*i* 'besides, to'.

āca <IIr *ācā* (= *ā*+*cā*, cp Skt *uc-cā*) <IE *ē̆-q*^{w}*ē̆*

upā̆ <IIr *upa* <IE *upo*, cp Skt *upa*, Gk *hupó*, Goth *uf*.

upa^{i}*ri* <IIr *upari* <IE *uperi*, Skt *upari*, OP *upariy*, Gk *hupér*, Goth *ufar*.

ką̄m <IIr *kām*, cp Skt *kam* (adv).

tarasca <IIr *tr̥rašca* <IE *tr̥rn̥s-q*^{w}*ē* Skt *tiraścā*

y. *tarō* g. *tarə* <IIr *tr̥ras* <IE *tr̥rn̥s*, cp OP *tara*, Skt *tiraḥ*, Lat *trans*

nī̆ >IIr *ni* <IE *ni* cp OP *nī–*, Skt *ni*.

nī̆š/niž <IIr *niṣ̌* <IE *nis*, cp Skt *niṣ/nir/niḥ*.

pa^{i}*tī̆* <IIr *pati* <IE *poti*, cp OP *patiy*, Gk *potí*.

parā <IIr *pr̥rā*, Skt *purā*

y. *parō*, g. *parə* <IIr *paras* <IE *peros* cp OP *para* Skt *paraḥ*

pa^{i}*rī̆* <IIr *pari* <IE *peri*, Skt *pari*, Gk *peri*

pasca <IIr *paščā*, <IE *posq*^{w}*ē*, cp Skt *paścā*.

pašne 'in view' <IIr *(s)paš-na–i* (loc. sg),

frā̆/f^{ə}*ra* <IIr *pra* <IE *pro*, cp OP *fra–*, Skt *pra* Gk *pro*.

mat̰ <IIr *smad* <IE *smed* cp Skt *smat*.

vī̆ <IIr *vi* <IE *wi*, cp Skt *vi*, OP *vi–*.

viš <IIr *viṣ̌* <IE *wis* cp Skt *ā–viṣ–*

g. *ha–*, *hə̄*, *hə̄m*, *hə̄n*, y. *hą̄m*, *hą̄n*, *ham*, *han*, *hən–*, *ha–* <IIr *sa–*, *sam* <IE *sm̥*, *sem*, cp Skt *sa–*, *sam*, Gk *hen*, *he*.

hacā̆ <IIr *sacā* <IE *seq*^{w}*ē*, cp OP *hacā*, Skt *sacā*.

g. *hadā*, y. *haδa* <IIr *sadha* <IE *sm̥dhe*, cp OP *hadā*, Skt *saha*, *sadha–*.

haθrā̆ <IIr *satrā*, cp Skt *satrā* (adv).

hanar^{ə} 'without' <IIr *sanar* (?)

319. Adverbs

Adverbs were formed in two different ways. Some inflected case-forms were used as adverbs. Besides some adverbs were formed with special suffixes.

A. Inflected case-forms used as adverbs :

(i) Nominative

anyō/a^{i}nyō (cp Skt *anyaḥ*), *parąs* (Skt *parāṅ*).

(ii) Accusative

yim (Skt *yam*), *cim* (Skt *kam*), *ha^{i}θim* (Skt *satyam*).

(iii) Neuter

āsu (Skt *āśu*), *po^{u}ru* (Skt *puru*), *aētaṯ* (Skt *etat*), *a^{i}nyaṯ* (Skt *anyat*).

(iv) Instrumental

aoră (<IIr *avarā*), *yā* (<IIr *yā*), *ha^{i}ʽyă* (<IIr *satyā*), cp Skt *sahasā*.

(v) Dative

pao^{i}ryāi (<IIr *pṝvyāi*, Skt *pūrvyāya*), *yahmāi* (<IIr *yasmāi*, Skt *yasmai*).

(vi) Ablative

dūrāṯ (Skt *dūrāt*), *ahmāṯ* (Skt *asmāt*).

(vii) Genitive

aētavatō (<IIr *aitavatas*), *ərəzvō* (cp Skt *aktoḥ*).

(viii) Locative

ahmi/ahmya (<IIr *asmi(n)*, Skt *asmin*), *usə̄n*, *pašne* (cp Skt *agre*, *dūre*).

B. Adverbs formed by suffixes

(i) -*ō* <IIr -*as*.

parō <IIr *pr̥ras*, Skt *puraḥ*.

(ii) -*tō* <IIr -*tas*.

a^{i}witō <IIr *abhitas*, Skt *abhitaḥ*.

(iii) -*θă* <IIr -*tha*, -*thā*.

a´ă <IIr *athā*, Skt *athă*.

kaθă <IIr *kathă* cp Skt *katham*.

(iv) -*θrā̆* < IIr -*tra*

aθrā̆ < IIr *atra*, Skt *atra*
kuθrā̆ < IIr *kutra*, Skt *kutra*
vaŋhaθra < IIr *vāsatra*

(v) -*δa*/-*dā* < IIr -*dā̦* & -*dha*

iδa < IIr *idā*, *idha*, Skt *idā*, *iha*.

(vi) -*δi* < IIr -*di*

ye^{i}*δi* < IIr *yadi*, Skt *yadi*

(vii) -*va* < IIr -*va*

kva (=*ku-va*) < IIr *kuva*, Skt *kva* (=*kuva*)

(viii) -*vat̰* < IIr -*vat*

yavat̰ < IIr *yā̆vat*, Skt *yāvat*

(ix) -*š* < IIr -*ṣ̌* < IE -*s*.

biš < IIr *dviš* < IE *dwis*, Skt *dviḥ*.
θriš < IIr *triš* < IE *tris*, Skt *triḥ*.

(x) -*so* < IIr *šas* < IE *k̂n̥s*

navasō < IIr *navašas*, Skt *navaśaḥ*

(xi) -*ra* < IIr -*ra*

nūrəm < IIr *nūram* cp Skt *nūnam*.

(xii) -*zvat̰* < IIr -*s-vat*

bižvat̰ < IIr *dvi-ṣ̌-vat*

(xiii) -*sarəm* < IIr *šr̥ram*

bisarəm < IIr *dvi-šr̥ram*

(xiv) -*kərət* < IIr -*kr̥t*

hakərət̰ < IIr *sa-kr̥t*, cp Skt *sakr̥t*.

320. Particles

Av shows several particles, most of which are emphatic, and a few are conjunctive and negative particles:

-ā̆ (as in *vəhrkaeišv-a*) <IIr ā̆ <IIr ā̆ <IE ē̆/ō.

-*i* (as in *ape*) <IIr *i* <IE *i*.

it̰ <IIr *id* <IE *id*, cp Skt *it*, cp Lat (pron) *id*.

-*u* (as in *apo*) <IIr *u* <IE *u*, cp Skt *u*.

uta <IIr *uta* <IE *ute*, cp OP *uta*, Skt *uta*, Gk *ute*.

ca <IIr *ca* <IE *q*^{w}*e*, Skt *ca*, OP *cā*, Lat *que*.

na- <IIr *na* <IE *ne*, Skt *na*, Lat *ne*-, Lith *né*.

nōit̰ <IIr *na-id* <IE *ne-id*, cp Skt *net*.

nū̆ <IIr *nū̆* < IE *nū̆*, cp Skt *nū̆*, Gk *nu*, Ht *nu*, OE *nū*.

mā <IIr *mā* <IE *mē*, cp Skt *mā*, Gk *mē*

y. *vā* g. *və* <IIr *vā* <IE *wē*, cp Skt *vā*, Gk *ē*, Lat *ve*.

zī <IIr *žhi* <IE *ĝhi* cp Skt *hi*.

hyat̰ <IIr *syad* < IE *syod*.

CHAPTER XXVI

FORMATIVE AFFIXES

321. Radical stems

vīs– <IIr *vīš* <IE *wik̂*, cp Skt *viś*.

druj– <IIr *dhrujh* <IE *dhrugh*, Skt *druh*.

vă̄k– <IIr *vă̄k* <IE *wŏ̄qʷ* cp Skt *vāk–*, Gk *ōp–*, Lat *vōc–*.

spas– <IIr *spaš* <IE *spek̂*, cp Skt *spaś*, Lat *spec–*.

vərəd– <IIr *vr̥dh* <IE *wr̥dh*, cp Skt *vṛdh*.

322. *–a* <IE *–o*

A. *–a* used as primary affix.

(i) Root in strong grade

gaoš-a- 'ear' <IIr *ghauṣ̌– a–* <IE *ghous–o–*, cp OP *gauša–* 'ear', Skt *ghoṣa–* 'sound'.

baγ–a– 'god' <IIr *bhag–a–* <IE *bhag–o–*, cp OP *baga–*, Skt *bhaga–*, OCS *bogŭ*.

(ii) Root in long grade

bāg–a– <IIr *bhāga–* <IE *bhāg–o–* cp OP *bāga–(yadaiš)*, Skt *bhāga–*.

nās–a– <IIr *nāš–a–* <IE *nēk̂–o–* cp Skt *nāśa*.

(iii) Root in weak grade

fry–a– <IIr *priy–a–* <IE *priy–o–* cp Skt *priya–*.

darʼγ–a– <IIr *dr̥̄gh-a-* <IE *dl̥̄gh-o-* cp Skt *dirgha-*, OP *darga-*, Gk *dolikhós*, Ht *dalugas*.

B *–a* used as a secondary affix,

təmaŋh-a- 'dark' <IIr *tamas-a-* <IE *temes-o-* cp Skt *tāmasa-*, beside Av *təmah-* 'darkness' <IIr *tamas-* cp Skt *tamas-*.

ārzava- <IIr *āržav-a-* <E *ērĝew-o-* , cp Skt *ārjava-*,
beside Av *ərəzu-* <IIr *r̥žu-* <IE *r̥ĝu-* , cp Skt *ṛju-*.

322a. *-ata* (see 328).

323. *-aθa* <IIr *-atha* (rare)

varəd-aθa <IIr *vardh-atha-*

324. *-an* <IIr *-an* <IE *-en*

A. Primary *-an*

taš-an- <IIr *tašš-an* <IE *tek̂θ-on*, cp Skt *takṣan*.

B. Secondary *-an*, Skt shows *-in* instead.

puθran- 'father' <IIr *putran* cp Skt *putrin* 'father' beside Av *puθra-* Skt *putra-* 'son'.

hazaŋhan- 'robber' <IIr *sažhasan* cp Skt *sāhasin-* 'courageous', beside Av *hazah-* 'deed of vollence', Skt *sahas-* 'strength'.

325. *-ana* <IIr *-ana* <IE *-eno-/-n̥no*

āp-ana- <IIr *āp-ana-* <IE *ēp-eno-/-n̥no-*, cp Skt *āpana-*.

zav-ana- <IIr *žhav-ana-* <IE *ĝhew-eno-/-n̥no-* cp Skt *havana-*.

326. *-āna* <IIr *-āna* <IE *-m̥̄no-*, used as middle participial suffix (Vide 308).

say-ana- <IIr *šay-ăna* <IE *k̂ey-m̥̄no-* cp Skt *śayāna*

da^-āna- <IIr *dhadh-āna-* <IE *dhedh-m̥̄no-* cp Skt *dadhāna-*

327. *-ant/-at* <IIr *-ant/-at* <IE *-ont/-n̥t*

Used mostly to form active participles'(306) such as *barant-* (<IE *bheront-*), *stavat-* (<IE *stew-n̥t-*) etc. but some such formations were already transferred in IIr or IE period to regular substantive use; e.g.

maz-ant- 'great' <IIr *mažh-ant-* <IE *meĝh-ont-* cp Skt *mah-ant*.

bərəz-ant- 'big' <IIr *bhr̥žh-ant-* <IE *bhr̥ĝh-out-*, cp Skt *br̥hant-*.

328. *-anta-/-ata* <IE *-onto/-eto* (or *-n̥to*)

Used in Av to form future passive participles; e.g. *yaz-ata-*, *s*^{u}*runv-ata-*, *haošya-anta-* etc (vide 310-iii & iv).

329. *-ar* <IE *-er*

n-ar- <IIr *n-ar* <IE *n-er* cp Skt *nar-*, Gk *aner-* etc.

330. *-ah* <IIr *-as* <IE *-es*

av-ah- <IIr *av-as* cp Skt *avas-* 'protection'

pay-ah- <IIr *pay-as-* cp Skt *payas-* 'milk'

man-ah- <IIr *man-as-*, cp Skt *manas-* <IE *menes-*, cp Gk *menos-*.

nam-ah- <IIr *nam-as-*, cp Skt *namas*.

raoc-ah- <IIr *rauc-as*; cp Skt *rocas* <IE *leuqes*, cp Gk *leuko-* IE <*leuqo-*.

srav-ah- <IIr *srav-as* <IE *k̂lew·es*, cp Skt *śravas-*, Gk *kleos-*.

331. *-ā* <IIr *-ā* <IE *-ā*.

This was feminine formative.

aspā <IIr *asvā* <IE *ek̂wā*, cp Skt *aśvā*, Lat *equa*, beside masc Av *aspa-* <IIr *ašva-* <IE *ek̂wo-* cp Skt *aśva-*, Lat *equus*.

sūrā <IIr *šūrā* <IE *k̂ūrā* beside masc Av *sūra-* <IIr *šūra-* <IE *k̂ūro-* cp Skt *-śūra-*.

Some feminines have no corresponding masc, e.g.

gərəzā <IIr *ghr̥žhā* cp Skt *garhā*.

haēnā <IIr *sainā*, cp Skt *senā*.

zaŋgā <IIr *žhaŋghā* <IE *ĝheŋg*^{w}*hā* cp Skt *jaṅghā*.

332. *–āt* <IE *–ēt/ōt*

carāt– <IE *q^{w}elēt* cp Gk *kélēs*
napāt– <IE *nepōt*, cp Skt *napāt–*, Lat *nepōt–*

333. *–āna* (see 326).

334. *–i* <IIr *–i* <IE *–i*

mazi– <IIr *mažhi–* <IE *meĝhi–*, cp Skt *mahi–* 'great'.
ga^{i}ri- <IIr *gr̥ri-* <IE *g^{w}r̥ri–*, cp Skt *giri–*.
za^{i}ri– <IIr *žhari–* <IE *ĝheli–*, cp Skt *hari–*.

335. *–ika* <IIr *–ika* <IE *iqo–*.

da^{i}tika– <IIr *datika–* <IE *dn̥t-iqo-* (<*dent-*), cp Skt *haimantika–*, Gk *orphanikós*
ə–vərəzika– 'not working' <IIr *a-vr̥ž–ika–* <IE *n̥–wr̥ĝ–iqo–*.

336. *–it* <IIr/IE *it*

γn·it- <IIr *ghn-it-* <IE *g^{w}hn-it-*.

337. *-ita* <IIr *-ita* <IE *-i-to.*

za^{i}rita- <IE *ĝhelito-*, Skt *harita-*.

338. *-in* <IIr *-in* <IE *-in*

fraxšnin- <IIr *pražnin* <IE *pro-ĝn·in* (<√*ĝen/ĝnō* 'know'), cp Skt *prajñin.*
pərənin- <IIr *pr̥nin–*, cp Skt *parṇin-*.

339. *-ina-* <IIr *ina-* <IE *ino-*

dašina- <IIr *dašṣ̌-ina-* <IE *dek̂s·ino-*, cp Skt *dakṣiṇa-*.
za^{i}rina- <IIr *žhar-ina-* <IE *ĝhel-ino-*, cp Skt *hariṇa-*.

340. *-iya* (written *-aya* or *-ya*) <IIr *-iya* <IE *-iyo*

aspaya- <**-aspiya* <IIr *ašviya-* <IE *ek̂wiyo-*, cp Skt *aśviya-*, Gk *híppios*.

341. -*iš* <IIr -*iṣ̌* <IE -*is*/-*əs*

g. *təvīš* <IIr *tav-iṣ̌* <IE *tew-is*/-*əs* cp Skt *taviṣ*.

y. *sta^{i}rīš* <IIr *star-iṣ̌* <IE *ster-is* (< √*ster*).

342. -*išta-* <IIr -*iṣ̌ta-* <IE -*is-tho-*

Used for formation of superlatives.

ās-išta- <IIr *āš-iṣ̌tha-* <IE *ōk̂-istho-*, cp Skt *ūś-iṣṭha-*.

vah-išta- <IIr *vas-iṣ̌tha-* <IE *wes-istho-* cp Skt *vas-iṣṭha-*.

sraēšta- <IIr *šra(y)-istha-* <IE *k̂re(y)-istho-* cp Skt *śreṣṭha-*.

nazd-išta- <IIr *nazd-iṣ̌tha-* <IE *ne-zd-istho-* cp Skt *nediṣṭha-*.

stāv-išta- <IIr *sthăv-iṣ̌tha-* <IE *sthăvistho-* cp Skt *sthaviṣṭha-*.

343. -*išt(i)ya-* <IIr *isthiya-* <IE *iṣ̌thiyo-*

zəvīšt(i)ya- <IIr *žavišthiya-* <IE *ĝewisthiyo-* cp Skt *javiṣṭh(i)ya-*.

344. -*ī* <IIr *ī* <IE *ī* (weak grade of *yā*).

Used as feminine formative.

daēvi <IIr *daivī* <IE *deiwī*, cp Skt *devī* (beside masc *daēva-* <IE *deiwo-*, Skt *deva-*).

nā^{i}rī <IIr *nārī* <IE *nerī* cp Skt *nūrī*, (beside masc *nar-* <IE *ner-*, Skt *nar-*).

345. -*ika-* <IIr -*īka-* <IE *iqo-*.

mərəždīka- <IIr *mr̥ẓ̌dīka-* <IE *mr̥ĝd-īqo-*, cp Skt *mr̥ḍīka-*.

346. -*iya* (written -*ya*) <IIr -*īya* <IE -*iyo*

tu^{i}rya- <IIr (*k*)*tur*(*i*)*ya-* <IE (*q^{w}*)*turiyo-*, Skt *tur*(*i*)*ya-*.

347. -(*i*)*yas* (written -*yas*) <IIr -(*ī*)*yas* <IE -(*i*)*yes*.

Used for comparative formation.

āsyah- <IIr *ās-*(*i*)*yas-* <IE *ōk̂-*(*i*)*yes*, cp Skt *āśīyas*, Lat *ōclor*.

staoyah– <IIr *sthav–(ī)yas–*, cp Skt *sthavīyas.*

g. *vah·yah–/vahyah–*, y. *vaŋ́hah–/vaŋhah–* <IIr *vasyas* <IE *wesyos*, cp Skt (vd) *vasyas.*

348. *-u* <IIr *-u* <IE *-u.*

āsu- <IIr *āšu-* <IE *ōk̂u-*, cp Skt *āśu-*, Gk *ōkús*

garu- <IIr *gr̥ru-* <IE *g^{w}r̥ru-*, cp Skt *guru-*, Gk *barús.*

348a. *-uka* (rare) <IIr *-uka* <IE *uqo.*

kanukā <IE *qanuqā* beside Av *ka^{i}nikā*, *ka^{i}nī* etc.

349. *-uš* <IIr *-us* <IE *-us*

tan-uš <IIr *tan-uš-* <IE *tn̥n-us-* cp Skt *tanu-* <IE *tn̥nu-.*

349a. *–uš* also found as weak grade of *-vas* (perfect participle active) e.g. *viduš* (vide 307).

350. *uša* <IIr *uṣa* <IE *us–o-.*

po^{u}ruša– <IIr *paruṣa*, cp Skt *paruṣa–.*

351. *-ū* <IIr *ū* <IE *ū*

vaδū <IIr *vadhū* <IE *wedhū*, cp Skt *vadhū.*

tanū <IIr *tanū* <IE *tenū*, *tn̥nū*, cp Skt *tanū.*

352. *–ka* <IIr *–ka* <IE *–qo.*

Mostly pleonastic.

pasuka- <IIr *pašu-ka-* <IE *pek̂u-qo-*, cp Skt *paśu-ka*, beside Av *pasu–*, Skt *paśu–.*

352a. *-ka* used as past participial affix in Av *huška–* <IE *sus-qo—*, cp Skt *śuṣka-*, OP *(h)uška–.*

353. *-ca* <IIr *-ca* <IE *-q^{we}/-qe.*

usca <IIr *ut-ca* <IE *utq^{we}* (<IE *ud+q^{we}*) cp Skt *ucca.*

354. *-t* <IE *–t*

bərət- <IIr/IE *bhr̥-t-* cp Skt *bhr̥t–.*

stūt <IIr/IE *stu-t-* cp Skt *stut-*.

srūt <IIr *šru-t-* <IE *k̂lu-t* cp Skt *śrut-*.

355. *-ta* <IE *-to*

Mostly past participial affix; e.g. *jata-* (309-i).
Also forms a few nouns & adjectives.

zasta- <IIr *žhasta-* <IE *ĝhesto-*, cp Skt *hasta-*, OP *dasta-*.

356. *-tar* <IIr *-tar* <IE *-ter*

Used as formative for words expressing relation and for agent nouns.

pitar- <IIr *pitar-* <IE *pəter*, cp Skt *pitar-*, OP *pitar-*, Gk *pater-*.

brātar- <IIr *bhrātar-* <IE *bhrāter*, cp OP *brātar-*, Gk *phrāter-*.

dātar <IIr *dātar-/dhātar-* <IE *dōter-/dhēter-*, cp Skt *dātar-/dhātar-* Gk *dōter-*

zaotar <IIr *žhautar* <IE *ĝheuter* cp Skt *hotar-*

357. *-tara* <IIr *-tara* <IE *-tero*

Used as comparative affix corresponding to superlative *-təma-*.

fra-tara- <IIr *pra-tara-* <IE *pro-tero-*, cp OP *fra-tara-*, Skt *pratara-*, Gk *próteros*.

vi-tara- <IIr *vi-tara* <IE *wi-tero-* cp Skt *vi-tara-*.

358. *-tāra* <IIr *-tā̆ra* <IE *-tē̆ro*

Used beside *-tara* as comparative affix.

katāra- <IIr *katā̆ra-* <IE *q^{w}o-tē̆ro-* cp Skt *katara-*, Gk *potero-*.

359. *-təma* <IIr *-tama* <IE *-tm̥mo*

Used as superlative formative corresponding to *tā̆ra-*.

ustəma- <Ir *ut^{s}tama-* <IE *ut^{s}tm̥mo-* (<IE *ud* + *tm̥mo-*), cp Skt *uttama-*, cp Gk *hústatos* <IE *ut^{s}tm̥tos*.

po^{u}rutəma- <IIr *pr̥ru-tama-* <IE *pl̥lu-tm̥mo-*, cp Skt *purutama-*.

hastəma- <IIr *sat^{s}tama-* <IE *sn̥t^{s}tm̥mo-* cp Skt *sattama-*.

360. *-tah/–tō* <IIr *–tas* <IE *–tos*

Forms action nouns and adverbs.

y. *θraotah-* <**sraotah-* <IIr *śrautas-*, cp Skt *srotas-*, OP *(h)rautah-*.

a^{i}witō <IIr *abhitas*, cp Skt *abhitaḥ*.

361. *–tāt* <IIr & IE *–tāt*

ha^{u}rva-tāt- <IIr *sarva-tāt-* <IE *solwo-tāt-*, cp Skt *sarvatā–*, Gk *holotēt-*.

amərəta-tāt- <IIr *amr̥tatāt-* cp Skt *amr̥ta-tā*.

362. *–ti* <IIr & IE *–ti*

jati- <IIr *g^{h}ati-* <IE *g^{w}hn̥ti-*, cp Skt *hati-*

gati- <IIr *gati-* <IE *g^{w}m̥ti-*, cp Skt *gati-*, Gk *basís*, Goth *ga-qunþ*.

stū^{i}ti– <IIr *stuti-* <IE *stuti-*, cp Skt *stuti-*.

ā-zuti- <IIr *ā-žhuti–* <IE *ĝhuti–* cp Skt *ā-huti–*.

ca^{i}ti– <IIr *cati-* <IE *q^{w}eti–*, cp Skt *kati-* <IE *q^{w}oti–*.

363. *–tu* <IIr & IE *–tu*

gātu- 'place' <IIr *gātu-* <IE *g^{w}m̥̄tu–*, cp Skt *gātu–* 'path'.

jyātu- 'life' <IIr *jyātu-* <IE *g^{w}yētu*, cp Skt *jīvātu-*

zantu- 'animal' <IIr *žantu-* <IE *ĝen-tu-*, cp Skt *jantu-*.

364. *–θa* <IIr *–tha* <IE *–tho*

hapta^{θ}a- <IIr *saptatha-* <IE *septm̥-tho-* cp Skt *saptatha.*

guθa- <IIr *gūtha-*, cp Skt *gūtha-*.

Av *-θa* (<IIr *–tha*)> *–δa* after x & *f* (91).

uxδa– <IIr *uk-tha-* <IE *uq^{w}-tho-*, cp Skt *uktha-*.

365. *–ϑi* <IIr/IE *-thi*

ci-θi- <IIr *ci-thi* <IE *q*^{w}*ī-ihi-*

Av *-θi* (<IIr *-thi*)> *-ti* after *-s* (80-ii)

asti <IIr *at*^{s}*thi*, cp Skt *atithi-*.

366. *–ʹu* <IIr/IE *–thu*

pərəθu- <IIr *pr̥-thu-* <IE *pl̥-thu*, cp Skt *pr̥thu-*, cp also Gk *platu-* (<IE *pl̥-tu-*) & Ht *palḫi* <IE *pl̥l-i.*

367. *–ϑna* <IIr *–tna* <IE *–tno*

syao$^{\vartheta}$*na-* <IIr *cyautna-* <IE *q*^{w}*yeutno-*, cp Skt *cyotna-*

pa^{i}*ri*$^{\vartheta}$*na-* <IIr *pari-tna-* <IE *peri-tno-*, cp Skt *pratna-* <IE *pro-tno-*

368. *θya* <IIr *–tya* <IE *–tyo*

ha^{i}*θya-* <IIr *satya* <IE *sm̥-tyo-*, cp Skt *satya–*, OP *hašiya–.*

369. *–θyu* <IIr/IE *–tyu*

mərə$^{\theta}$*yu-* <IIr/IE *mr̥tyu-*, cp Skt *mr̥tyu–*

370. *–θwa* <IIr *–tva* <IE *–two*

Used in IIr as future passive pple formative as well.

ja$^{\theta}$*wa-* <IIr *jhan-tva-* <IE *g*^{w}*hen-two-*, cp Skt *hantva,* OCS *žętva-*

Av *-ʿwa*> *-δwa* after χ, *f* (85)

vaχ^{ə}*δwa* <IIr *vak-tva-* <IE *weq*^{w}*-two-*

371. *θwana* <IIr *–tvana* <IE *–twono*

ā-staoϑwana– <IIr *stau-tvana-* <IE *steu-twono-*, cp Skt *patitvana-* cp Gk *doulósụnos.* 'enslaved' < *doulo-* 'slave'.

372. *–θra* <IIr *–tra* <IE *–tro*

zaoθra– <IIr *žhautra–* <IE *ĝheutro–*, cp Skt *hotra–.*

muθra– <IIr *mūtra–* cp Skt *mūtra.*

Adverbs

aθrǎ <IIr *atra* cp Skt *atra.*

372a Av *–θra*> *–tra* in Av after *–s*

vas-tra- <IIr *vastra-* cp Skt *vastra-*.

372b. Av *–θra*> *–δra* after X, *f* (85)

vaX^{ə}δra- <IIr *vak-tra* <IE *weq^w-tro-* cp Skt *vaktra-*.

373. *–δa* <*–θa* after X, *f*; e.g. *uXδa–* (364).

373a. *–δwa* <*–ʻwa* after X, *f*; e.g. *vaX^{ə}δwa-* (370).

373b. *–δra* <*–ʻra* after X, *f*; e.g. *vaX^{ə}δra–* (372b).

374. *–na* <IIr *–na* <IE *–no*

Used to form past participles (**309-ii**) and some nouns.

pərəna- <IIr *pr̥na-* <IE *pl̥no-*, cp Skt *pūrṇa-* <IE *pl̥̄no-*.

yasna- <IIr *yažna–* <IE *yaĝno–*, cp Skt *yajña-*, Gk *hagnós*.

X^{v}afna– <IIr *svap-na-* <IE *swep-no-*, cp Skt *svapna-*, Lat *somnus*, cp Gk *húpnos* <IE *sup-no-s*.

375. *–nah* <IIr *–nas* <IE *–nes*

raēX^{ə}nah– 'inheritance' <IIr *raik-nas-* cp Skt *rekṇas-* 'property'.

376. *–ni* <IIr/IE *–ni*

sraoni- <IIr *šrau-ni* <IE *k̂leu-ni-*, cp Skt *śroṇi–*, Lith *szlaunis*, Lat *clūnis*.

377. *–nu* <IIr/IE *–nu*.

daēnu- <IIr *dhai-nu*, cp Skt *dhenu–*

bānu– <IIr/IE *bhānu–*, cp Skt *bhānu–*.

378. *–ma* <IIr *-ma* <IE *–mo*.

Also used to form ordinals and superlatives.

gar^{ə}ma– <IIr *gharma-* <IE *g^{w}hor-mo-* cp Skt *gharma*, OP *garma-*, Lat *formus* cp Gk *thermós* > IE *g^{w}her-mo-s*.

Ordinals

naoma- <IIr *navama-* <IE *newn̥-mo-*, cp Skt *navama-*.

dasəma- <IIr *daśama-* <IE *dek̂m̥-mo-*, cp Skt *daśama-*, Lat *decimus*.

Superlatives (cp comparative *-ra* 346)

apəma- <IIr *apama-* <IE *apo-mo-*, cp Skt *opama-*.

upəma- <IIr *upama-* <IE *upo-mo-*, cp Skt *hpama-*.

379. *-man* <IIr *-man* <IE *-men*.

ną̄man- <IIr *nāman-* <IE *nōmen-*, cp Skt *nāman-*, Lat *nomen*.

dą̄man- <IIr *dhāman-* <IE *dhēmen*, cp Skt *dhāman-*, Gk *thēma*.

380. *-mant* <IIr *-mant* <IE *-ment*.

A secondary affix and forms possessive adjectives.

gao-mant <IIr *gau-mant-* <IE *g*^{w}*ou-ment-* cp Skt *gomant-*.

maδu-mant- <IIr *madhu-mant-* <IE *medhu-ment-* cp Skt *madhumant-*.

281. *-mī̆* <IIr-IE *-mī̆*

bū-mī̆- <IIr/IE *bhū-mī̆*, cp Skt *bhū-mī̆-*, OP *bhūmī*.

382. *-mna* <IIr *-mna* <IE *-mno*.

Mostly used to form middle participles (308).

baramna- <IIr *bharamna-* (308).

383. *-ya* <IIr *-ya* <IE *-yo*

zaoya- <IIr *žhav-ya-* <IE *ĝhew-yo-* cp Skt *havya-*.

384. *-yah* (vide *-ī̆yah-* 347)

385. *-yu* <IIr/IE *-yn*

ma^i*n-yu-* <IIr *man-yu-* <IE *men-yu*, cp Skt *manyu-*,

368 *-ra* <IIr *-ra* <IE *-ro*

u.ra- <IIr *ug-ra-* <IE *ug-ro-*, cp Skt *ugra-*,

su`'ra– <IIr *šuk-ra-* <IE *k̂uq-ro-*, cp Skt *śukra-*, OP *θuχra–*.

sūra <IIr *šū-ra-* <IE *k̂ū-ro*, cp Skt *śūra–* cp Gk *ákūros*.

Also used as comparative affix; cp superlatives in *–ma* (378).

aδara– <IIr *adha-ra-* <IE *n̥dhe-ro-*, cp Skt *adhara–*

apara– <IIr *apa-ra-* <IE *apo-ro-*, cp Skt *apara–*

387. *–va* <IIr *–va* <IE *–wo*

pa^{v}*rva–* <IIr *pr̥̄-va-* <IE *pr̥̄-wo-* cp Skt *pūrva–*

ərədva– <IIr *r̥dhva-* <IE *r̥dhwo-* cp Skt *ūrdhva–* Gk *orthós*.

388. *–van* <IIr *–van* <IE *–wen*

yvan– <IIr *yuvan–* <IE *yuwen–* cp Skt *yuvan–*

aδwan– <IIr *adhvan–* <IE *n̥dhwen–*, cp Skt *adhvan–*

ašavan– <IIr *r̥tavan–*, cp Skt *r̥tāvan–*

389. *–vant* <IIr *–vant* <IE *–went*

A secondary formative like *–mant*.

āfənt– 'watery' <IIr *āp-vant-* cp Skt *apa-vant* 'full of water', Gk *opoéis* 'rich in juice' <IE *opo-w-ent-*.

zasta–vant– <IIr *žhasta–vant–* <IE *ĝhesto–went–* cp Skt *hastavant–*.

vastra–vant <IIr *vastra–vant–* <IE *westro–went* cp Skt *vastra–vant*

390. *–vah* Used for perfect participle active, with weak grade *–uš* (**349a**), e.g. *vidvah–/viduš* (**307**)

391. *–vya* <IIr *–vya* <IE *–wyo*

brātruyō, *brātū*^{i}*ryō* 'brother's son' <IIr *bhrātr̥vyas* <IE *bhrātr̥wyos*, cp Skt *bhrātr̥vyaḥ*.

tū^{i}*ryō* 'father's brother' <IE *p(ə)tr̥wyos*, cp Skt *pitr̥vyaḥ* Gk *patruiós*,

392. *-sa* <IIr *-ša* <IE *-k̂o*

navasō <IIr *navašas* <*neuŋ̥k̂os* cp Skt *śataśaḥ*, Lat *iuvencus*

393. *-ša* <IIr *-sa* <IE *-so*

drafša- <IIr *drapsa-* <IE *drepso-* cp Skt *drapsa-*

394. *-šar/ŋhar* <IIr *-sar* <IE *-ser*

A rare feminine formative.

tišrō <IIr *tisras* <IE *tisres*, cp Skt *tisraḥ*, OIrish *teoir*.

cataŋrō <IIr *catasras* <IE q^{w}*etesres*, cp Skt *catasraḥ*, OIrish *cetheoir*.

CHAPTER XXVII

COMPOUNDS

395. Compounds in Avestan

Avestan shows several types of compounds like other IE languages. A compound normally shows two components. Avestan shows only a few cases of three components like RV.

In a compound normally the final member only is inflected, which is also true with Avestan. There are a number of old dvandva compounds, where both the members are inflected in dual. This is also attested in Avestan; e.g. Av *pasu vīra*, *pasubya vīraē*^{i}*bya*, cp Skt (vd) *paśū vīrū*. Avestan also shows the aluk samāsa formations, with both members inflected; e.g. Av *raθaėstå* cp Skt *ratheṣṭhāḥ*. Besides Avestan uses the nominative singular instead of the stem as the first component quite frequently; e.g. *daēvōdātō* for **daēva-dātō*.

396. The Avestan Compounds may be classified as follows :

1) Copulatives or Dvandva

(a) Itaretara or Reciprocal

pasu vīra, *āpa urva*^{i}*re*, *pāyu (war*^{ə}*štāra*, cp Skt (vd) *mitrā varuṇā*.

(b) Ekaśeṣa or Eliptical

pitarə 'parents' cp Skt *pitarau* 'parents'.

2) Determinatives

(a) Tatpuruṣa or Dependent Determinative :

Acc Tatp	*miθrō-druj–*	cp Skt *mitra-druh–*.
Inst Tatp	*daēvō-dāta–*	cp Skt *deva-hita–*.
Gen Tatp	*vis-pa*^{i}*tiš*	cp Skt *viśpatiḥ*.
Loc Tatp	*raθaēstå*	cp Skt *rathe-ṣṭhāḥ*.
Negational Tatp	*a-məša–*	cp Skt *amartya–*.
Upapada Tatp	*ga:avarō*	cp Skt *gadābharaḥ*.

(b) Karmadhāraya or Descriptive Determinative :

vohu-jiti– , cp Skt *vasumanah.*
pərənō-månghō cp Skt *pūrṇa-māsa–*

(c) Dvigu or Numeral compound

panca-yaXšti– , cp Skt *pañca–gu–.*
θri-yaXšti– cp Skt *tri-yaṣti–*

3) Bahuvrībī or Possessives

darəgō-bāzuš 'possessing a long hand', cp Skt *bajra-bāhuḥ.*

4) Governing compounds

(a) Prādi or Prepositional

hukərəta–, huXta–, cp Skt *sukr̥ta–, sūkta–.*

(b) Participial

frādat̰-gaē$^{\theta}$əm, vanat̰pəšanō, cp Skt *bharad-vājaḥ.*

5) Adverbial or Avyayībhāva

āXšnuš cp Skt *ājānu-. pa^{i}tyāpəm* cp Skt *pratīpam.*

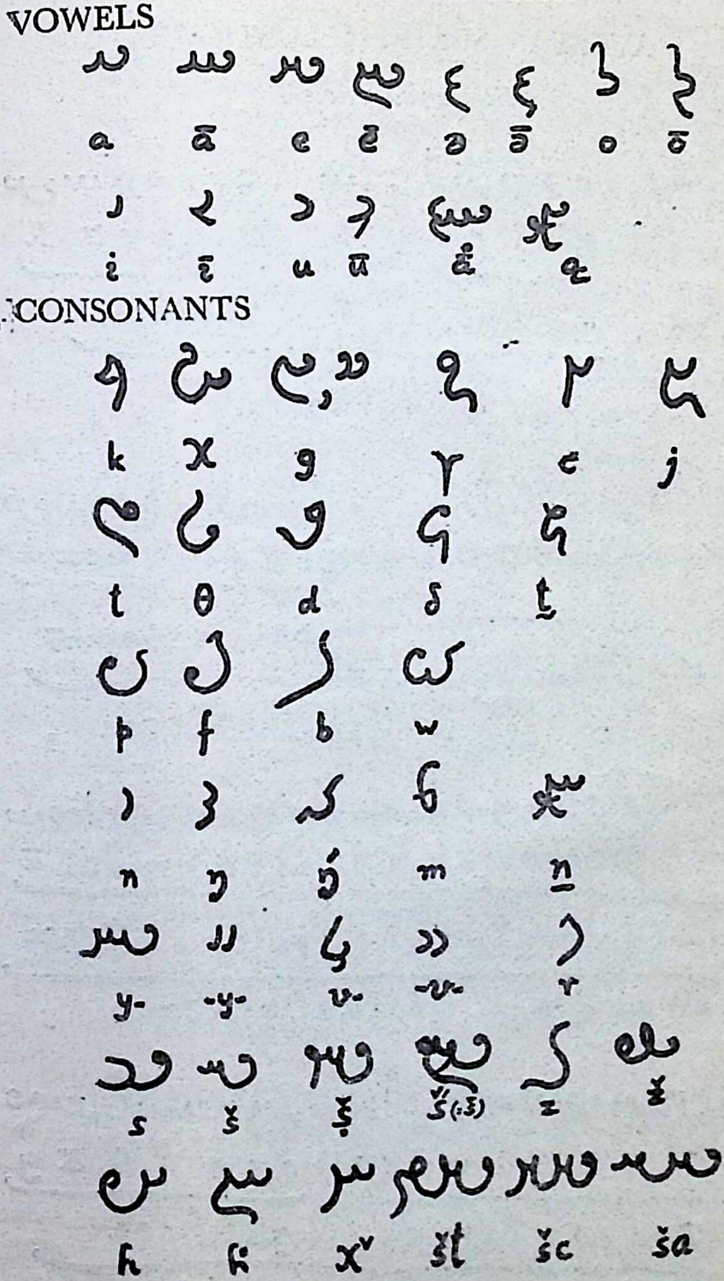
6) Interative or Amreḍita

vīsi vīsi cp Skt *viśe viśe,*
nmāne nmāne, cp Skt *dame dame.*

7) Syntactical compound

When a phrase is referred to it is often treated like a compound, such compounds are called Syntactical compounds. *ahuna va^{i}rya–* (cp *yaθā ahū va^{i}ryō*) cp Skt *agnim-īḷa–* (cp *agnim īḷe purohitam*).

AVESTAN SCRIPT
& ROMAN TRANSCRIPTION

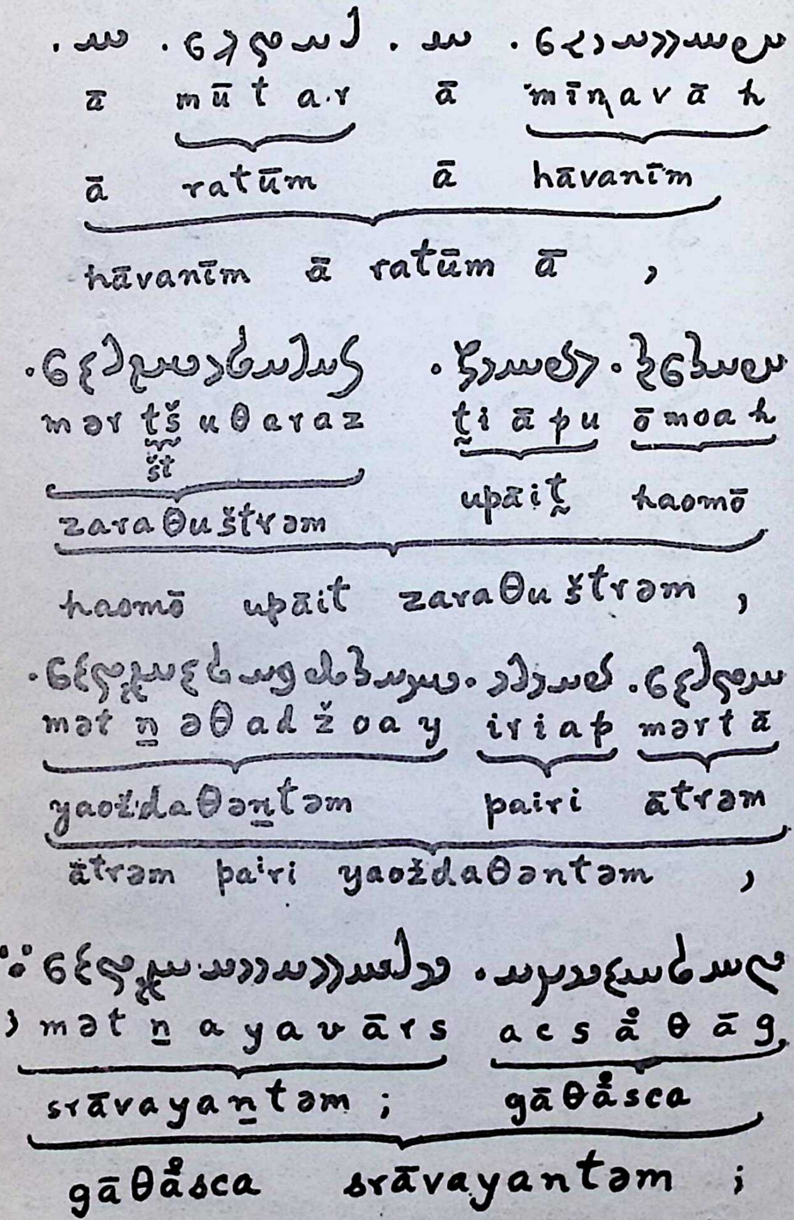

VOWELS
a ā e ē ə ə̄ o ō
i ī u ū å ą
CONSONANTS
k x g γ c j
t θ d δ t̰
p f b w
n ŋ ń m ṇ
y- -y- v- -v- r
s š ṣ̌ š́(=ṣ̌) z ž
h h́ xᵛ št šc ša

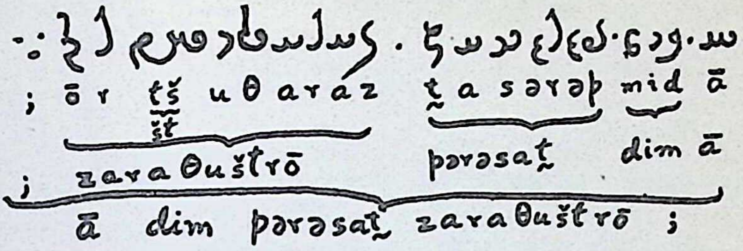
1. n̲ (=n^{m} 55a) is transcribed in the present work as *n*.

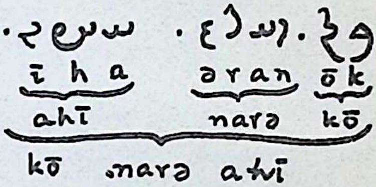
2. š, ṣ̌ š́ are tramscribed in the present wark as š. š́ represents a historical *rt* and is therefore distinguished as š́ on significant occaisions.

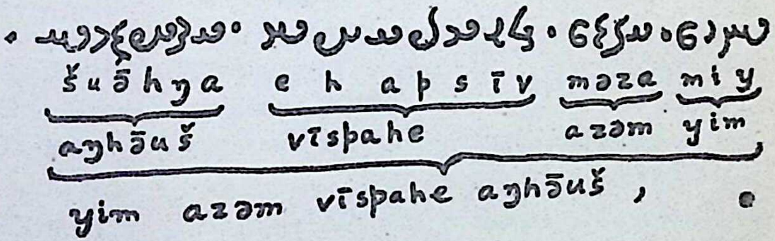
AVESTAN SCRIPT ILLUSTRATED

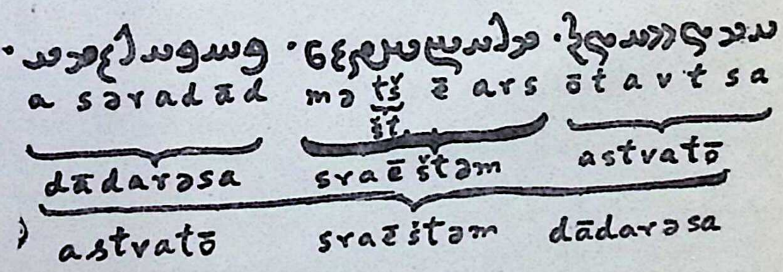
Haoma yašt : verse–I

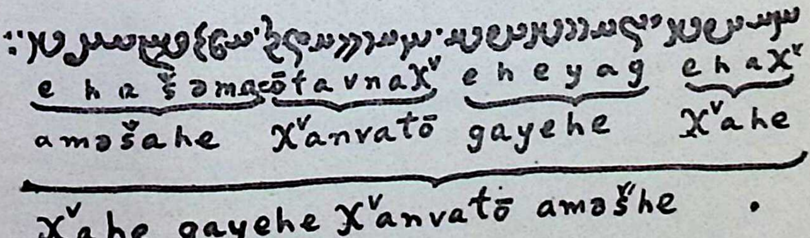

ā mūt a.r ā mīŋavā h
ā ratūm ā hāvanīm
hāvanīm ā ratūm ā ,
mər tš u θ a r a z
št
t̰ i ā p u ō m o a h
zaraθuštrəm
upāit̰ haomō
haomō upāit zaraθuštrəm ,
mət n̲ ə θ a d ž o a y iriap mərt ā
yaoždaθən̲təm pairi ātrəm
ātrəm pa'ri yaoždaθəntəm ,
) mət n̲ a y a v ā r s a c s å θ ā g
srāvayan̲təm ; gāθåsca
gāθåsca srāvayantəm ;


; ō r tš u θ a r a z ṯ a s ə r ə þ mid ā
šṭ
; zaraθuštrō pərəsaṯ dim ā
ā dim pərəsaṯ zaraθuštrō ;


ī h a ə r a n ō k
ahī narə kō
kō narə ahī


š u ō h y a e h a þ s ī v m ə z a m i y
aŋhōuš vīspahe azəm yim
yim azəm vīspahe aŋhōuš , .


a s ə r a d ā d m ə tš ē a r s ō t a v t s a
šṭ
dādarəsa sraēštəm astvatō
astvatō sraēštəm dādarəsa


e h a š ə m a ō t a v n a xᵛ e h e y a g e h a xᵛ
aməšahe xᵛanvatō gayehe xᵛahe
xᵛahe gayehe xᵛanvatō aməšhe .

ABBREVIATIONS

Ab.	ablative
abl (Abl)	ablative
Ac.	accusative
acc (Acc)	accusative
act	active
adv (Adv)	adverb
Alb	Albanian
aor	aorist
Arm	Armenian
Att	Attic (Greek)
Av	Avesta, Avestan
Bartholomae	Bartholomae, C. : Altiranisches Wörterbuch
Brugmann	Brugmann : CGIGL
CGIGL	Comparative Grammar of Indo-Germanic Languages
CGSGH	Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit, Greek & Hittite
cp	Compare
Cypr	Cyprian (Greek)
D.	dative
dat (Dat)	dative
decl	declension
demonst	demonstrative
dl	dual
dlct	dialect / dialectal
Dor	Doric (Greek)
e.g.	exemple gratia
fem (Fem)	feminine
g.	Gathic Avestan
G.	genitive
ġAv	Gathic Avestan
gen (Gen)	genitive
Gk	Greek

Gmc	Germanic
Goth	Gothic
Hom	Homeric (Greek)
Ht	Hittite
I.	instrumental
IE	Indo-European
IIr	Indo-Iranian
impf (Impf)	imperfect
impv (Impv,	imperative
inst (Inst)	instrumental
Ion	Ionic
L.	locative
Lat	Latin
Lett	Lettish
Lith	Lithuanian
loc (Loc)	locative
masc (Masc)	masculine
mc (Mc)	masculine
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan
mid	middle
Misra	present author
N.	nominative
nom	nominative
neut (Neut)	neuter
NLIECG	New Lights on IE Comparative Grammar
nt (Nt).	neuter
OCS	Old Church Slavic
OE	Old English
OIcel	Old Icelandic
OIr	Old Iranian
OIrish	Old Irish
ON	Old Norse
OP	Old Persian
Osc	Oscan
pcle	particle
pers	person/personal

pl	plural
pple	participle
pref	prefix
prep	preposition
pron	pronoun
Reichelt	Reichelt, H. Aweshisches Elementarbuch
RV	Rig.Veda
sg (Sg)	singular
Skt	Sanskrit
subjunc	subjunctive
Tokh	Tokharian
Umb	Umbrian
V.	vocative
vd (Vd)	vedic
voc	vocative
y.	Younger Avestan
yAv	Younger Avestan
>	becomes
<	comes from
*	hypothetical (IE & IIr etc, which are obviously hypothetical, are not marked with *)
√	root

Note : Single letter abbreviations are as a rule avoided. The Abbreviations N., Ac., I., D., Ab., G., L. and g. y. are used mainby in the tables and g. is also used in the word index.

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a, ā, ą, å, ə, ə̄, i, ī, u, ū, e, ē, o, ō k, x, g, γ, ŋ, ŋ́, c, j, t, t̰, θ, d, δ, n, p, f, b, w, m, y, v, r, s, š, z, ž, h, h˙, x^{v}.

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13	6	(top)	Av *tat* Skt *tat̰*	Av *tat̰* Skt *tat*
18	19	(top)	Av < *pouru*	Av *po^{u}ru*
19	12	(bottom)	gAv ... gAv	yAv ... yAv
22	2	(„)	yAv *būnōi* gAv *bunəm*	yAv *būnoi* yAv *bunem*
23	10	(„)	OIr *rθuš*	OIr *pr̥θuš*
	9	(„)	< *pl̥tus*	<IE *pl̥tus*
	8	(„)	a s antized *r*	a spirantized *r*
	6	(„)	Skt *vrkaḥ*	Skt *vr̥kaḥ*
	1	(top)	Av *u*	vA *ū*
	6	(top)	gAv *u*	yAv *u*
24	5	(bottom)	IE *dr̥̄gho–*	IE *dl̥̄gho–*
27	2	(„)	*matyāya*	*martyāya*
	9	(top)	gAv *gəuš*, gAv	gAv *gəuš*, yAv
29	13 14 & 16	(bottom)	cp gAv	cp yAv
30	12	(„)	gAv *	yAv gAv
31	3	(„)	gAv ... gAv	gAv ... yAv
37	7	(„)	*d^{a}bitya–* IIr *dvitīya–*	*d^{ai}bitya–* IIr *dvitīya–*
63	9	(top)	*d^{a}bitya–*	*d^{ai}bitya–*
65	10	(bottom)	*hapò*	*hupó*
	8	(”)	IE *spek̂ta–*	IE *spek̂to–*
66	15	(„)	*īnsomnia*	*ınsomnia*
68	1	(top)	OIr *abī*	OIr *abi*
70	5	(bottom)	*vənjaye^{i}ti*	*rənjaye^{i}ti*
73	9	(„)	*ynwen–*	*yuwen–*

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74	12	(bottom)	d^{a}bitya-	d^{ai}bitya-
75	9	(")	128	123
76	9	(top)	d^{a}bitya	d^{ai}bitya-
77	1	(")	represent	represented
80	14	(")	Av *spaś-*	Av *spas-*
	16	(")	Op	OP
	2	(bottom)	OIr	Av
85	10	(")	*mazdiṣtha-*	*mavdištha-*
90	4	(")	d^{a}bitya-	d^{ai}bitya-
91	5	(")	"	"
	13	(")	*vaŋhō*	*vaŋhō*
	15	(")	ŋ	ŋ́
94	1	(")	Sk *tāśvabhyām*	Skt *aśvābhyām*
96	15	(top)	*espəm*	*aspəm*
	8	(bottom)	*xšatrəm*	Av *xšaθrəm*
			OP *xšas*	OP *xšas*^{r}*am*
111	1	(top)	decleusiou	declension
115	3	(bottom)	*xratot̰*	*xrataot̰*
	13	(")	*ma*^{ʾ}*nyo*	*ma*^{i}*nyō*
116	15	(")	*xraiavō*	*xratavō*
	5	(")	*vohunām*	*vohunąm*
121	14	(top)	*patér*	*patə́r*
	1	(bottam)	*mātərš-cą*	*mātərąš-cā*
125	5	(")	*ynvan*	*yuvan*
	7	(")	*yawa*	*yava*
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	9	(bottom)	116	216
134	2	(top)	*dusmanah-*	*dušmanah*
	6	(")	*dusmanå*	*dušmanå*
	7	(")	*dusmano*	*dušmano*
	8	(")	*dusmanaŋhəm*	*dušmanaŋhəm*
138	11	(bottom)	*vīsam*	*vīsəm*

Page	Line	(From)	For	Read
146	3	(bottam)	*ha^{u}vātā*	*ho^{u}rvātā*
156	14	(„)	IE *avoå*	IE *awo*
159	6	(„)	*imn*	*ima*
160	15	(„)	**Pronoun** *sa/ta–*	**Pronoun** *ha/ta–*
164	2	(„)	mc *hiṣ̌*	mc *hīš*
170	5	(top)	*huāvōya<h av^{a}ya*	*hvāvōya<hvav^{a}ya*
172	5	(top)	inplected	inflected
174	1	(„)	*χšvas*	*χšvaš*
176	1	(„)	568	268
	17	(„)	*aštəmo–*	*aštama–*
	19	(„)	*newn̥-ms–*	*newn̥-mo–*
	21	(„)	*dek̂m̥-ms–*	*dek̂m̥-mo–*
180	12	(bottam)	Av *vavāca*	Av *vavaca*
181	8	(„)	*maĕnižaⁱti*	*naēnižaⁱti*
	2	(„)	*šušyąm*	*šušuyąm*
187	17	(top)	*vaēnōithe*	*vaēnōiθe*
191	13	(„)	*vetha*	*vettha*
216	3	(bottom)	804b	304b

Vani

Dr. Satya Swarup Misra, the recepient of the coveted Asutosh Mukherji Gold Medal from the University of Calcutta, which proved a crowning success to his budding scholarship, by now, needs no introduction to his confreres in the field of his choice through his tireless and prolific contributions, both wide ranging and worh-while like Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit, Greek and Hittite, New Lights on Indo-European Comparative Grammar, Laryngeal Theory, A Critical Evaluation. In the present treatise he, with his wonted lucidity, has given a vivid description by way of a thumb-nail sketch a meticulous execution in every detail, a comprehensive coverage of the history of the Avestan lore. (vide Foreword).

Dr. Misra is equally thorough in several Indo-European historical languages like Sanskrit, Greek, Hittite, Pali and Prakrits, Avestan and Old Persian, Latin, Gothic etc. He has also considerably mastered the other Indo-European historical languages like Lithunian, Old Church Slavic, Armenian, Albanian etc.

Since several years he had been teaching Indo-European Linguistics, Sanskrit Linguistics, Middle Indo-Aryan Linguistics, Greek Linguistics, Hittite Linguistics and Germanic Linguistics in the Department of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University. At present besides teaching he is also busy in organising the newly established Department of Linguistics in Banaras Hindu University.

He is now engaged in writing Historical and Comparative Grammar of different Indo-European historical languages and a comprehensive Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European Languages.

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1. Prthivira Bhasa (= World-languages). (1964).
2. A Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit, Greek and Hittite, (1968).
3. New Lights on Indo-European Comparative Grammar, (1975).
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